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HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA.

From a Photograph by Messrs. Downey and Son.

See page 133.

LIBRARY EDITION.

"SIX HUNDRED YEARS";

OR,

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF EMINENT MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE MORE OR LESS
COME INTO CONTACT WITH THE ABBEY AND
CHURCH OF HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES,
FROM
1293 TO 1893.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INCUMBENTS, THE FABRIC, THE PLATE,
ETC. ETC.

By
THE VICAR,

THE REV. SAMUEL KINNS, PH.D. JENA,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL
ARCHÆOLOGY; LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE, HIGHBURY NEW PARK:

AUTHOR OF

"GRAVEN IN THE ROCK," "MOSES AND GEOLOGY," AND "HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES; ITS PAST
AND PRESENT HISTORY."

G. V.

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HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF YORK,
WITH HER CHILDREN.

From a Photograph by Miss Alice Hughes.

See page 346.

DEDICATION

TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF YORK.

MADAM,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS HAVING GIVEN ME YOUR MOST KIND PERMISSION TO DEDICATE THIS WORK TO YOU; I NOW DO SO WITH THE PROFOUNDTEST ESTEEM, AND I TRUST THAT GOD MAY CONTINUE TO POUR UPON YOU AND YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY HIS BEST OF BLESSINGS.

YOUR KINDNESS BRINGS TO MY MIND THE GREAT INTEREST WHICH HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE LATE DUCHESS OF TECK, YOUR HONOURED MOTHER, ALWAYS TOOK IN MY SPECIAL WORK OF DEFENDING GOD'S HOLY WORD. THIS ENCOURAGEMENT FROM ONE SO HIGH AND SO NOBLE WAS TO ME A SOURCE OF MUCH HAPPINESS.

I HAVE VENTURED TO GIVE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE THE PORTRAITS OF YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS AND YOUR CHILDREN, AND I AM SURE THAT MY READERS, WHEN LOOKING UPON THE FACE OF PRINCE EDWARD, WILL SEND A PRAYER TO HEAVEN THAT GOD WILL EVER PRESERVE AND BLESS HIM.

I HAVE THE HONOUR, MADAM, TO BE

YOUR MOST OBEDIENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

SAMUEL KINNS.

Hampstead, June, 1898.

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Preface.

The following name arrived just after the List of Subscribers was printed:—

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Alfred Jones, Esq., should have been

ALFRED JONAS, Esq.

And Frederick Haines, Esq., should have been

FREDERICK HAINES, Esq., F.S.A., &c. &c.

upon. His kindness in this and other respects I shall never forget. With him I must couple the names of the Assistant Keepers of the Printed Books, Mr. George K. Fortescue and Mr. Robert E. Graves, B.A. Then I must cordially thank Mr. William R. Wilson, Superintendent of the Reading Room, with Mr. John P. Anderson, for the kindness and help that I frequently received from them both.

In the Printed Books Department, Mr. Henry Jenner, F.S.A., most kindly examined some of my proof-sheets, and

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Preface.

As I have thought it best to explain the plan of this work in an introductory chapter, I shall confine myself here to gratefully acknowledging the kind help I have received during the compilation of this work from the officials of the British Museum and other friends.

First, I tender my hearty thanks to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., the Principal Librarian and Secretary, and to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. John T. Taylor, for their kindness and courtesy all through the undertaking.

Next, I must most sincerely thank Dr. Richard Garnett, C.B., Keeper of the Printed Books, for the great assistance he has rendered me in aiding me to find rare and valuable works and prints relating to the subjects I have treated upon. His kindness in this and other respects I shall never forget. With him I must couple the names of the Assistant Keepers of the Printed Books, Mr. George K. Fortescue and Mr. Robert E. Graves, B.A. Then I must cordially thank Mr. William R. Wilson, Superintendent of the Reading Room, with Mr. John P. Anderson, for the kindness and help that I frequently received from them both.

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Mr. Cyril J. Davenport, V.D., F.S.A., courteously gave me his advice on many little matters, to both of whom I am not a little grateful. In the Manuscript Department I owe much gratitude to Mr. Francis B. Bickley, by whose kind help I found many of the rare MSS. referred to in this work; so that my visits to his department will always be amongst the pleasant memories connected with my researches.

In the Newspaper Department, where also are kept Acts of Parliament dating back to Henry the Eighth's reign, I received valuable help from Mr. J. Baynes Jago, for which I sincerely thank him.

Lastly, I have most gratefully to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance I received in the Print Room from Mr. Freeman M. O'Donoghue, F.S.A., and the other gentlemen in that department, when I was making a selection of portraits to illustrate this work.

Besides these gentlemen, I am greatly indebted to three others for their very kindly perusing all the proof-sheets after the work was in print—viz. Mr. Charles H. Athill, the *Richmond Herald*; Mr. William Thynne Lynn, B.A., F.R.A.S.; and Mr. John Ashton, who has written so many similar works. I do not know how to thank these gentlemen sufficiently for the part they have taken in this matter, being very desirous that accuracy should be one of the features of the work.

With regard to the chapters upon the Legge family, the present Earl of Dartmouth most kindly invited me to Patshull House, in order that I might personally peruse the invaluable historical manuscripts that are very carefully

preserved there. This visit I greatly enjoyed, as I did a similar one paid to Stanmer House, the seat of the Earl of Chichester, who most kindly gave me much information in reference to the Pelham family.

Mr. Fairfax Lucy, the present proprietor of Charlecote, was good enough to look over the proof-sheets of the two chapters upon the Lucys, though I was unable to accept his kind invitation to run down and see the Mansion and Church, which pleasure, however, I shall hope to have before the second edition comes out.

I would add a few other words, and this time in reference to my Subscribers, whose valuable support I highly appreciate, feeling it a most encouraging feature that the book should commence its career under the kind auspices of such distinguished men.

SAMUEL KINNS.

Hampstead, 22nd June, 1898.

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Introduction.



REREDOS OF HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES.

See page 448.

Introduction.

“ANOTHER CITY CHURCH DOOMED”—this was the heading of an article in a popular London journal in reference to Holy Trinity, Minories, the substance of which was copied into a number of other newspapers and excited much attention. These articles led to many questions being asked me, through the post and otherwise, as to the fate of my interesting little Church. Also a number of erroneous statements with regard to its history were made which gave me no small amount of trouble to correct. I determined, therefore, to republish my short History, which appeared in 1889, with such additional information as could be obtained from ancient books and manuscripts in our great National Library. As soon, however, as I began my researches amongst these archives, I came across some remarkable and deeply interesting facts in reference to the eminent men and women that had more or less come into contact with the Church and Abbey, from 1293, when it was founded, down to the present century, which caused me to alter my plans entirely, by writing a series of historical chapters quite independent of each other, that should give not only anecdotes and sketches of the sayings and doings of the men and women themselves, but sometimes also of their ancestors and successors.

By this it comes about that out of the seventeen chapters, only four relate directly to the Church—viz. the

first and the last three. The other thirteen chapters are really separate narratives suggested by some circumstance connected with the Abbey or Church, which has been used as a text for the historical sketch. Thus the burial in the Church of Miss Constantia Lucy, 250 years ago, led me to recount the sayings and doings of her great ancestor Sir Richard Lucie, the chief minister of Henry II., who compiled "The Constitutions of Clarendon," which occasioned the rupture between the King and Thomas à Becket. Then the surrender of the Abbey to Henry VIII. by Lady Elizabeth called forth the chapter on "The Dissolution of the Monasteries." The occupation of the Abbey by Dr. Clerk as a private residence led me to discover that the title of "Fidei Defensor" as borne by our Gracious Sovereign the Queen is derived from another source than the grant of Pope Leo X. to Henry VIII. for writing against Luther.

The residence of Bishop Barlow in the Abbey has likewise prompted me to go into the whole question of his consecration, and, consequently, the continuity of Anglican orders. As the Duke of Suffolk also resided in the Abbey, I shall have some interesting things to tell of himself and his beautiful and highly accomplished daughter, Lady Jane Grey. The romantic story of the Pelham Buckle in connection with the Battle of Poitiers has been suggested by the monument to Sir John Pelham, with the large buckle underneath, erected in 1584.

In Chapter VIII. I have endeavoured to show that Shakespeare did not steal a deer from Sir Thomas Lucy's park, nor was he ever imprisoned for any such act; and trust I have been able to clear our illustrious poet from this old and infamous libel. In the stories of "Honest Will Legge" and "The Admiral of all the Fleet" I am able to lay before my readers a number of interesting

facts relating to the reigns of Charles I., Charles II., and James II., which I think have not been before related, except in official works and documents, and some of them have been derived from MSS. in Lord Dartmouth's possession, which, by the kindness of his Lordship, I have personally inspected, which clearly prove that Macaulay was utterly wrong in his assertions in reference to George, Lord Dartmouth, being a traitor. The monuments in the Church of both these great men having upon them the Washington arms, I have felt it in keeping with the plan of the work to write a short chapter upon the National Flag of America. The chapter upon Lord Mayor Pritchard, who purchased the Abbey for a "Mansion House," will be interesting to all City people; whilst that upon "Sir Isaac Newton at the Mint" will interest astronomers, for very little has been said by the biographers of that learned and good man respecting the wonders he accomplished when Master of the Mint, the information concerning which I have derived from important MSS. written at the time, that will, I think, to some extent be new to all.

With regard to the orthography of the ancient documents quoted, I have sometimes retained the quaint spelling and sometimes have modernised it, where I have thought the meaning might be otherwise a little obscure. The value of money, of course, varies all through the narratives; for starting in the first chapter with its being fifteen times greater than at this time, it gradually diminishes till in the last chapters it has its present value. By value we mean its purchasing capabilities; £1 in Henry II.'s reign would purchase fifteen times more goods of any kind than it will now.

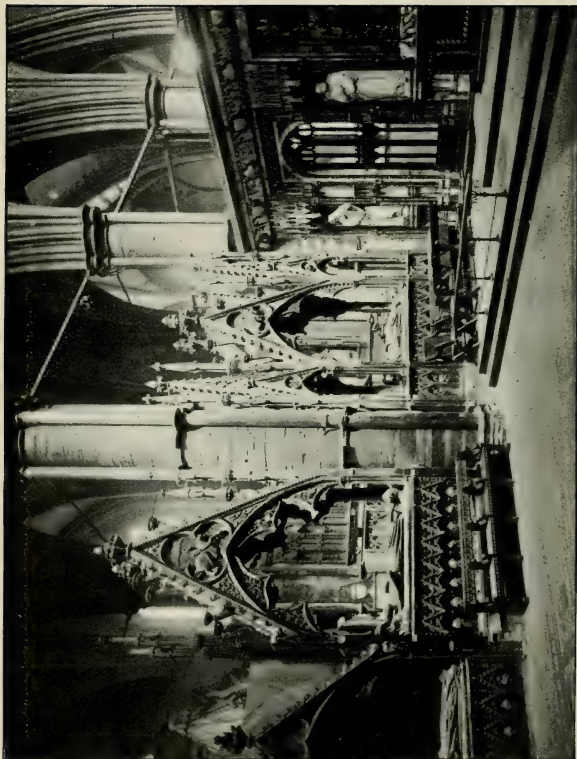
I need not say anything here about the chapters that relate to the Church, as they will tell their own story; and, indeed, my reason for thus giving a short epitome of the

others is to remove the impression that has been entertained by some that this work would be one only of "local interest," whereas it treats of a variety of subjects that, I think, will interest all. As I commenced this work in 1893, I gave it the title of "Six Hundred Years," because I intended it to treat of eminent men and women that lived between 1293 and 1893, supposing that it would only take me a few months to write, whereas, in consequence of my parochial duties and public lectures in defence of the Biblical narratives, as well as other claims upon my time, and on account of the numerous necessary researches, the work has taken me over four years. In its composition I have adopted the conversational style, as in my former works, feeling more at my ease in doing so.

In reference to the illustrations, I have chosen, what have appeared to be, the best portraits of the eminent men and women mentioned in the work, from the valuable and extensive collection in the Print-room of the British Museum, which the Principal Librarian, Sir Edward Thompson, K.C.B., has kindly allowed me to copy; the other illustrations will speak for themselves. It was an after-thought to make the book to some extent a miniature portrait gallery, which I trust will be pleasing to my readers.

I.

The Early History of the Abbey.



TOMB OF EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Photographed by Messrs. York and Son.

SIX HUNDRED YEARS.

I.

The Early History of the Abbey.

THE Abbey of St. Clare was founded in 1293, rather more than six hundred years ago, by Blanche d'Artois, Queen of Navarre, the daughter of Robert, Comte d'Artois, and of Maud of Brabant. Blanche is said to have been a most beautiful woman, and was first married, in 1270, to Henri le Gros, who in that year, on the death of his brother Theobald II., succeeded to the throne of Navarre, though he was not proclaimed king until March of the following year, in which year his daughter Jeanne was born. After a very brief reign, characterised, it is said, by dignity and talent, he died in July, 1274, leaving his daughter Jeanne, then only three years old, as his heir. Henri was called le Gros from his corpulence, which, greatly increasing, is supposed to have caused his death. Upon the death of her husband Blanche assumed the reins of government as guardian of her daughter, but the Estates in Navarre nominated Don Pedro Sanche de Montaignu as conjoint governor with the queen-mother. This appointment, however, occasioned some divisions and, indeed, political disturbances of a serious kind. Blanche, alarmed, carried off her daughter to Paris and implored the help of the King of France, Philippe le Hardi, against her own subjects. He sent

some French troops, which, under the orders of Robert d'Artois, ravaged the country, and at last compelled Navarre to submit.

By the advice of the King of France, Blanche, in 1275, married Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who was the second son of Henry III., King of England, by his Queen Eleanor; King Edward I. being, therefore, his elder brother. When Edmund was only eight years old he was solemnly invested by the Pope with the kingdom of Sicily, and a few years afterwards King Henry introduced him, attired as an Italian of Apulia, to a Parliament held in London, which, Speed says, was an exceeding great one, at which there were six Archbishops present--viz. "their Graces of Canterbury and Yorke, of Dublin, of Collein, of Messina in Sicilia, and of Tarentum in Apulia." Speed goes on to tell us that the King made the following speech:—

"Behold here my good people my sonne Edmund, whom God of his gracious goodnesse hath called to the excellency of kingly dignitie; how comely and well-worthy hee is of all your favours, and how cruell and tyranicall they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectuell and timely help both with advice and money."

This, however, turned out to be only a shadow; for Conrad, the real King of Sicily, was then living. Nevertheless, King Henry made it an opportunity of obtaining from the clergy a large contribution, which found its way into his coffers.

About this time Edward was made Earl of Chester, but afterwards the title and estates were given by the King to his eldest son, Edward. When, however, Edmund was nineteen years of age, his father conferred upon him the forfeited title and estates of Simon de Montfort, the powerful Earl of Leicester, who was defeated and slain at the battle of Evesham in 1265, when the royal troops, aided by the Earl of Gloucester, gained a complete victory.

In that battle, on the side of the Earl of Leicester there was another nobleman, Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, whose estates eventually became Prince Edmund's, and therefore it will be well to tell the story of how he became possessed of them. The Earl of Derby, having been made prisoner after the battle of Evesham, threw himself upon the mercy of the King, who granted him a full pardon in consideration of receiving 1,500 marks and a cup of gold adorned with precious stones, which the Earl obtained from Michal de Tony upon a mortgage on one of his manors in Northamptonshire. The King also undertook to protect him against Prince Edward and all others towards whom at any time during the troubles he had done wrong. All this, however, was upon condition that he should never transgress again, in which case no favour would be shown him, and he would be wholly disinherited. The Earl not only obliged himself by a special and sealed charter to observe these conditions, but also renewed his oath of allegiance.*

Notwithstanding this charter and oath, however, he took up arms against the King the very next spring, and headed a powerful army in the northern part of Derbyshire.

Prince Henry, a grandson of the King, defeated him in a pitched battle at Chesterfield. His lordship escaped from the field and hid himself under some sacks of wool in a church, but being betrayed by a woman, was conveyed a prisoner to London. This time he was totally disinherited by the Parliament then sitting at Westminster as well of the earldom of Derby as of his territorial possessions, the greater part of which was conferred by the King upon his son Edmund, who, as above mentioned, had the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester.

* Burke's "Extinct Peerages."

It seems that the unfortunate Earl of Derby was kept in prison for three years, but in the fifty-third year of Henry's reign so much interest was made for him, that the King accepted security whereby he might receive satisfaction for his lordship's misdemeanours, and even went so far as to issue a precept to Prince Edmund to make restitution of his lands. An agreement, however, was entered into between the disinherited Earl and Edmund, that the former should upon a certain day pay to the Prince £50,000—an enormous sum in those times—and that the latter would then relinquish all interest in the lands. Lord Derby was unable to find the money in time, and, thereupon, the parties holding the securities for the covenant passed over the lands to Prince Edmund and his heirs for ever.

In 1270 Edmund married Aveline de Fortibus, daughter and heiress of William, Earl of Albemarle, who brought him great wealth, with the expectation of more; for her mother was Isabel, sister and heiress of the Earl of Devon. But she did not live to succeed to her mother's inheritance.

Edmund went to the Holy Land in the spring of 1271, with a body of Crusaders, and was with his brother Edward at the siege of Acre. He was not quite two years in Palestine, and got back shortly after his father's death, reaching England before Edward.

After his return from the Holy Land, Edmund wore a large cross on the back of his mantle, from which circumstance he was called Edmund Crouchback, for the sign of the cross was anciently called a crouch or crutch. Crutched Friars is an instance of this word coming down to us as the name of a street in London, where originally there was a priory, established in 1278, for the order of Crossed or Crutched Friars. These Friars came into England in 1244, and settled at Colchester, where they

built a priory. At first they carried a cross fixed to a staff in their hands, but afterwards wore a cross of red cloth upon their backs or breasts, and their habit was appointed by Pope Pius II. to be of a blue colour. I have thus explained why Edmund was called Crouchback; for the name has been wrongly supposed to mean that he was deformed, which he was not.

Not quite a year after his return, in November, 1273, his wife Aveline died childless. Three years afterwards he married Blanche, the foundress of our Church and Abbey. She brought her husband the county of Champagne, her dower on her former marriage, to be held until her daughter Jeanne should marry or attain her majority. Whilst the arrangements were being made in 1275 in reference to this marriage, Blanche entered into negotiations with King Philippe for the affiance of her daughter, then only five years old, to his second son—sometimes called Philippe le Bel because of his handsome person. The marriage, however, did not take place until 1284, nine years afterwards. This prince, though the second son, succeeded his father to the throne of France in 1285 with the title of Philippe IV., and by his marriage with the young Queen of Navarre brought her kingdom into that of France, and, hence, he had a larger territory than any of his predecessors. Philippe made his mark during the twenty-nine years that he reigned over the united kingdoms of France and Navarre, and is represented to have been an enemy of feudalism and of the medieval papacy.

Returning to Edmund; he took such interest in the Abbey founded by his wife Blanche, that he is by some historians called its founder. He certainly obtained many privileges for the nuns from his brother, King Edward, which will be related presently.

It is stated that Edmund was with Mortimer, in 1282,

when he defeated Llewelyn, whose head he sent to London, where it was received with great rejoicings by the citizens, and was crowned with ivy, in mockery of Llewelyn's pretensions to kingship, and then fixed on a pole and placed upon the Tower. Edmund afterwards received from his brother, the King, grants of castles and wardships in the Welsh marches.

The close of his career, as described by the Rev. William Hunt, happened in 1296, when a war broke out between England and France, and an English army was sent into Gascony. Edmund sailed with the Earl of Lincoln to take the command of this army, and sent messengers asking to be allowed to pass through Brittany in order to rest his forces and gather provisions, but his messengers were hanged by the Bretons. This incensed Edmund so much that he plundered the country. On landing in Gascony he stayed for a while at Bourg and Blaye, where he was joined by many Gascons, so that his forces amounted to more than two thousand men-at-arms. He took one or two small places; and being then appointed lieutenant of Gascony, advanced on the 28th of March to the neighbourhood of Bordeaux.

Whilst he was besieging the castle, five citizens of the town came to him offering to let him into their city; but the treachery of these men was found out by their fellow citizens, so that when Lancaster appeared before their gates, he found them shut against him. A French army under Robert d'Artois was then approaching, and Edmund's money being exhausted, he had no longer the means to keep together the army he had gathered.

Deeply mortified at his inability to make head against the French, he retired to Bayonne, and died there on the 6th of June of the same year (1296), three years after the founding of our Abbey. When he was dying, he ordered

that his body should not be buried until his debts were paid, which request was carried out; for it was not brought over to this country until the next year, when it was honourably buried by the King in Westminster Abbey, and his tomb still remains, on the north side of the chapel of the kings near to the altar. It is a beautiful piece of architecture, in excellent preservation, of which I give an illustration on p. 2, photographed by Messrs. York and Son, who have kindly permitted me to reproduce it.* The third tomb to the left is that of Edmund's first wife, Aveline.

Edmund's wife, Queen Blanche, survived him until 1300, and he left behind him, by her, three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Thomas, succeeded to his title and estates, but he was not only unjustly deprived of them by a bill of attainder when the Spencers, the favourites of Edward II., were in power, but was cruelly beheaded upon a hill near to Pontefract Castle, on 18th March, 1322. Dying without children, his brother Henry would have been his heir, but alas! there were neither estates nor titles to succeed to; the former having been confiscated, and the latter annulled, a little later. However, in consequence of this brother Henry having been a distinguished soldier in the Scottish wars, the King restored to him the title of Earl of Leicester. By degrees he rose into power, and became one of the leaders of the great confederacy which overturned the power of the Spencers and deposed Edward II.

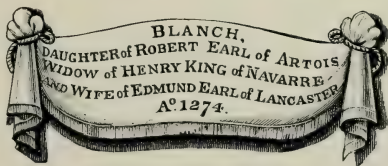
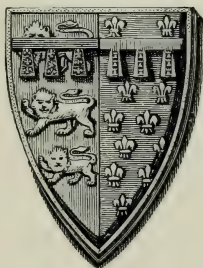
This Earl, upon the accession of Edward III., had the honour of girding the King with the sword of knighthood, and, as soon as the new monarch was crowned, he was appointed his guardian until he should become of age. After which, in the Parliament at Westminster, the attainder against his brother being reversed, he was

* Copies of this can be purchased at the Abbey.

restored to both the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester; and in the same year he was appointed captain-general of all the King's forces in the marches of Scotland. Such, then, were the careers of Thomas and Henry, two of the sons of Queen Blanche; but of John, I have not yet met with any account.

In our vestry there has been for some years the arms of our foundress, painted by direction of the late Thomas King, Esq., F.S.A., York Herald, who presented it to the then vicar (the Rev. Thomas Hill), of which arms I give a copy on the next page. The lozenge, on the left, contains Blanche's arms as Queen of Navarre and daughter, as I have said, of Comte d'Artois, who was second son of the French king, Louis VIII. The shield, on the right, contains her arms as Countess of Lancaster. One of her great-grand-daughters, also named Blanche, who married John of Gaunt, was mother to Henry IV. Through another great-grand-daughter, Elizabeth, who married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, great-grandfather of Edward IV., Queen Blanche was an ancestress of our most gracious Queen Victoria.

Just a few words in reference to Navarre—in Spanish Navarra—the country of our foundress. I have mentioned that when Jeanne, or Joanna, the daughter of Queen Blanche, married Philippe le Bel of France, in 1284, the crowns of France and Navarre became united; but on the death of Charles IV. of France without male issue, Joanna II., the daughter of Louis X. and wife of Philippe, Comte d'Evreux, was crowned Queen of Navarre at Pamplona, or Pampeluna, in 1328. It remained a separate kingdom until 1512, when Ferdinand V. of Spain seized all the portion lying on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, which was thenceafter called Upper Navarre to distinguish it from the French portion called Lower Navarre, and



was united to the French crown in 1609 by Henry IV. of France (the first Bourbon).

Upper Navarre is now an inland province of northern Spain, being about 90 miles in length from north to south, 86 miles in breadth from east to west, with an area of about 4,046 square miles. It is rather interesting to notice that it still preserves its ancient constitution, and is governed as a separate kingdom. Its legal forms differ totally from those of the rest of Spain; and appeals, instead of going to Madrid, are finally decided by the Provincial Council at Pamplona. A viceroy, representing the King's person, has the command of the army and the government of Pamplona, and possesses the privilege of presiding at the Cortes and Grand Council.

I must now return to the founding of the Abbey. Queen Blanche, like many other ladies of her time, was desirous of showing her zeal for religion by erecting a monastery, and this she did on the spot that is now occupying our attention; her husband, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, having obtained from his brother, the King, a licence for that purpose, in which it is stated—

“That whereas by an Act passed in that reign, ecclesiastical and other persons were restrained from holding lands in mortmain without leave of the Crown, and of the mesne lord, if any, he granted such leave to his said brother to convey a parcel of ground given and granted in fee by Thomas of Brend St., in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, for the erection of a house for the residence of certain nuns devoted to the service of God, St. Mary, and St. Francis, expected shortly to arrive and to settle in this realm, under the auspices of Queen Blanche.”

This deed was dated at Westminster, 18th June, 1293, in the twenty-first year of King Edward I.

The Abbey when built, Stow says, was 255 feet in length, which information he took from a deed dated 1303, three years after the death of the foundress. As the present

church and parish of Holy Trinity occupy the same site as the Abbey and its precincts formerly did, and as the first above deed of 1293 shows that the land was originally in the parish of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, it is interesting to note that now, in 1893,* exactly six hundred years afterwards, the parishes are about to be again united, at least ecclesiastically. The nuns for whom this Abbey was founded were called Clares, from St. Clare, or Clara, who was born in the year 1193, and was the daughter of a noble family living at Assisi in Italy. At nineteen years of age she retired to the Portiuncala of St. Francis, and in the same year founded the order of Franciscan nuns, who were afterwards called the nuns of the order of St. Clare; for Pope Alexander IV. canonised her two years after her death, which took place 11th August, 1253.

The nuns of the new Abbey, like the foundress of their order, were very zealous disciples of St. Francis, whose rule they adopted. They imitated, also, the Franciscans in the colour of their habits, and by assuming in token of humility the appellation of "*Sorores Minores*," as those monks did that of "*Fratres Minores*," from whence the street in which the Abbey stood is called "The Minories." They were distinguished, together with two other convents in this country, by the name of "The rich Clares," because of their having endowments; whilst the rest of their order generally depended for subsistence on the voluntary contributions of well-disposed persons, and were therefore, and still are, styled "The poor Clares."

Dr. Fly states † that from the few names recorded of the first abbesses, two of whom were Isabella Lile and Joanna de Nevers, and from the circumstance mentioned in the first bull they obtained from Pope Boniface of their

* This paragraph was written in 1893.

† In a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1802.

following the rule of a similar convent in the diocese of Paris, it would seem that the first nuns were, like the royal foundress of their Abbey, natives of France. They were also called Urbanists, from Pope Urban IV., who mitigated the rigour of their rules as originally drawn up by St. Francis; and which division of the order of Clares was begun by St. Isabel, sister of Louis, King of France, with the approbation of Pope Alexander IV. Dr. Fly also tells us that in addition to the three monastic vows common to every order—viz. those of poverty, celibacy, and obedience—they made, as he understood, a fourth, that of inclosure; whence in the first bull of Pope Boniface respecting them they are styled "*Sorores Minores incluse*"—that is, inclosed Minorite Nuns. And he further tells us that he was informed in Flanders by a nun of this order, that they held themselves bound by that vow never to go without the walls of their monastery, excepting in cases of war, fire, or pestilence.

The year after the establishment of the Abbey, Earl Edmund applied to King Edward for another licence to give and assign to the Abbey and sisters and their successors, three tenements and four parcels of ground in the neighbourhood of the Abbey; also thirty pounds a year issuing out of some estates in St. Lawrence Market, near Westcheap, now Cheapside. This £30 would be quite equal to £300 now; and if the property were still to belong to the church, perhaps £1,000 a year would not be too great an estimate of its yearly rental.

Soon after the Abbey was founded, there were three bulls procured from Pope Boniface VIII., then resident at Anagnia, in Italy, conferring upon it special privileges, some of which remained to a comparatively recent date. The first is dated on the day before the calends of September—that is, the 31st August in the first year of Boniface's pontificate. In it he declares that all religious

houses and places being by the disposal of divine goodness committed to the special custody of the Church of Rome, she watches over them with continual solicitude, listens to their petitions, protects them with her power, and strengthens them with privileges. That, consequently, she being well satisfied of the character and conduct of this society of "*Sorores Minores*," and meaning to confer on it some mark of favour, she * receives the monastery and the buildings which now are, or may be, erected within its bounds, as well as all appurtenances, rights, and possessions, under the peculiar jurisdiction of St. Peter and the Apostolic See.

Then follow some extraordinary privileges, in which Pope Boniface releases the Abbey altogether from the power and authority of the Bishop of London, in whose diocese it was situate, and from the power and authority of the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of their respective chapters, as well as from that of every other prelate or person ecclesiastical, or civil, for ever. Also he decrees that the members of the house and their successors, with their houses and possessions aforesaid, shall be immediately subject to the Bishop and Church of Rome only; and that, in token of such immunity received from the Holy See, they shall annually pay to him and his successors one pound of wax—a small fee, by the way, for such great immunity. The Pope goes on to decree:—"That it shall be lawful for no man whatsoever to infringe or rashly oppose this grant"; adding that "if anyone presume or attempt it, let him know that he will incur the displeasure of Almighty God and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul."

In the second bull Boniface confirms all the privileges before granted, concluding with the same denunciation

* The Church of Rome.

of the wrath of Almighty God and the two Apostles upon all opponents.

The third, however, adds further privileges and instructions of an interesting character. It was dated the fifth of the nones of July, 1295, in the second year of his pontificate. It commenced like the others:—"Bishop Boniface, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved daughters in Christ, the present or any future abbess of the monastery of the grace of the blessed Virgin Mary, and her sisters, professing a regular or monastic life." In it he pronounces its site, revenues, appurtenances, and privileges inviolable, and, notwithstanding that in his first bull he releases the Abbey and its precincts from all authority of the Bishop of London, he enjoins on him to consecrate the church, altars, vessels, oil, and vestments, or in case of his refusal, any catholic prelate should do so without fee or reward.

It goes on to say that, should the realm be under a general interdict, he yet permits them to celebrate divine worship, but without tolling a bell and with their gates shut, excluding all interdicted or excommunicated persons. Remembering as we do the religious distress that had previously taken place when England was laid under an interdict in King John's reign, this privilege must have been very highly prized by the Abbess and nuns. But he goes still further, by prohibiting all bishops or other ecclesiastical governors from passing any sentence of excommunication or suspension against this convent or any of its members, by doing which they would be opposing the will of the Holy See.

In this bull also Boniface prohibits all rapine, theft, bloodshed, and violence whatsoever within its enclosure, and confirms all immunities granted to their order by preceding Popes and all reasonable exemptions from

secular exactions made in their favour by kings, princes, or other Christian persons with the sanction of his apostolical authority. He decrees also that no one should attempt to seize, retain, or convert to any other use, or diminish their possessions, immunities, or exemptions, or rashly attempt to controvert the contents of this bull without due satisfaction given, after the second or third admonition, on pain of forfeiting his rank and power, of becoming liable to the divine displeasure, of being debarred the participation of the most sacred body and blood of our Redeemer, and of incurring a severe vengeance at the last Judgment; wishing to all who, on the other hand, should preserve their rights and privileges inviolate, the peace of God in this life and the reward of eternal happiness.

It is, perhaps, not a little interesting to notice that about the time Boniface was thus heaping his blessings upon the Abbess and nuns of this religious house, founded by Queen Blanche, he was fulminating his anathemas against her son-in-law, Philippe le Bel, then King of France, one of the most powerful monarchs of his day, and who, as I have said, was reputed to be an enemy to feudalism and the mediæval papacy. Boniface deemed himself, however, superior not only to all other ecclesiastical governors, but to all other sovereign princes.

There is no doubt these bulls had considerable weight with Edward I., for, about the same time, the Sheriff of London had been directed to seize without delay, for his Majesty's use, all lay fees belonging to archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons within his district. Carrying out this order, the sheriff seized certain fees, with some goods and chattels belonging to the Abbess of our convent; but the King, by a special writ, ordered him to restore them all without any diminution or delay. This

deed is dated at Islington, 4th April, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

Notwithstanding the endowments hitherto granted, they were far from adequate for the support of the Abbey, so that in the next reign Edward II., when expressing the extraordinary regard he bore to the order, granted for himself and his heirs, to his sisters the Minoresses and their successors, a perpetual exemption from all tallage payable to the Crown on account of their lands, tenements, and rents in the City of London. This deed was witnessed by the King and council at Westminster, 24th April, 1316, in the ninth year of his reign. The privileges mentioned would be similar to exemption from property and income tax in our time.

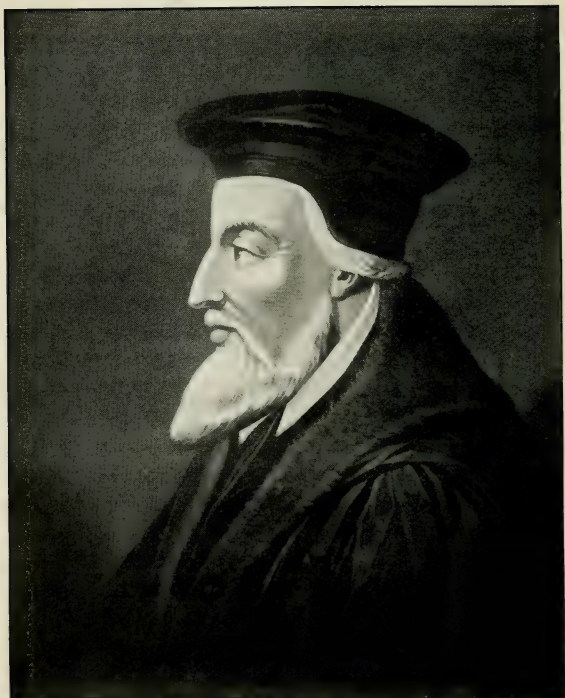
There is further evidence of Edward II. being a staunch friend of these nuns; for, in 1320, his escheator, Richard de Rodney, having seized a messuage and its appurtenance, which had been bequeathed to them without a royal licence, the King pardoned the omission and suffered them to inherit the said messuage. It seems that, notwithstanding the deed just mentioned, of their being exempted from all tallage to the Crown, they were called upon to pay tithes and taxes to Edward III.: upon which they petitioned the King and council that the exemption should be rendered perpetual; to which the King assented by a deed given under the privy seal at Westminster, 14th October, 1331, in the fifth year of his reign.

During the reign of Edward III., also, their income was considerably increased by a variety of benefactions, of which, with numerous other gifts and privileges, I have given an account in the Appendix; they are matters far too valuable, from an historical point of view, to be omitted altogether, but might weary the reader in this place.

There is a record of the value of all the possessions described in this chapter and the Appendix, but being in contracted Latin, I do not think it would greatly interest my readers to quote it; but will just state that the total amount of income from all sources was £318 16s. 5d., which, taking the value of money then to be, as is generally estimated, fifteen times greater than now, it would be equal to a present sum of £4,782 6s. 3d. per annum—a goodly income for these *Sorores Minores*. That this is not an over-estimate, the following extract from one of Latimer's sermons will prove, for his description of his father's farm shows the great difference between the value of rents at that time and what they are now. In the sermon which was preached before the Court, he says:—

“My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of £3 or £4 by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath-field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece, and had brought them up with godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor; and all this he did of the same farm.”

Latimer does not say how large it was, but I should think that it must have consisted of at least 150 acres, if the pasture portion alone was sufficient for the sustenance of 30 cows and 100 sheep. Such a farm now would be worth £150 a year at least, which would be more than thirty times the rent that was paid by Latimer's father. This may help us to judge of the comparative value of money in Edward IV.'s time; for Latimer was born towards



BISHOP LATIMER.

From an Old Painting.

See page 21.

the end of his reign, perhaps about 1485. The sermon in which he introduced this statement was preached by him before Edward VI., and the object of his introducing this account of his father's farm was to show that rich men were oppressing those beneath them by unjustly increasing their rents; for he goes on to say:—

“All this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it, payeth sixteen pounds by year * or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor. Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. . . . So now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps nothing is amended.”

The portrait I give of Bishop Latimer on page 20 is from a painting presented by Bishop Hurd to the successive Rectors of Thurcaston, in which village Latimer was born. Hurd was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1781.

A few words more in reference to the Abbey. Stow informs us that in the year 1515, during a pestilence in the city and suburbs of London, there died in the convent of St. Clare twenty-seven nuns, besides lay sisters and servants of the house. Persons of zealous piety before the Reformation were sometimes anxious to have their remains interred in monastic churches though not themselves professed nuns. Such an instance is related by Collins, in his “Peerage,” in reference to our Abbey.† Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, first wife of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Frederick Tilney of Ashwellthorpe, in the county of Norfolk, by her last will, bearing date 6th November, 1506, bequeathed her body to be

* This would be equal to about £240 of our money.

† Vol. i., page 79 (edition 1779).

interred in the nuns' choir of the Minoresses without Aldgate, in London, nigh unto the place where Anne Montgomery lies buried; desiring that no more than twenty torches should be used at her burial, and a month's mind.* Also that no dole or money should be given at either of those solemnities; but instead thereof, that one hundred marks should be distributed to poor folks in the parishes of Whitechapel and Hackney, viz. to each poor man or woman sevenpence.

I will now leave my readers either to turn to the Appendix for the remaining information given there, or to proceed with the next chapter.

* This, I believe, was a special service a month after the funeral.

III.

“Lucie and Becket.”



THOMAS À BECKET.

From an Old Print.

III.

“Lucie and Becket.”

SHORTLY after I had commenced this work, I found on the floor of the church, underneath the matting, an inscription upon a brass plate, let into a marble slab, recording the death and burial in 1596 of Constantia Lucy. I was much pleased with the discovery, for, in accordance with the plan of this work, it gave me the opportunity of writing the history of the Lucy family, of which so much could be said that is deeply interesting. The following is the inscription:—

CONSTANTIA LUCY, D. THOMÆ LUCY JUNIORIS,
MILITIS AURATH, ET D. CONSTANTIÆ, UXORIS
FEMINÆ FILIA, NATU MAXIMA, ANNUM AGENS
PLUS MINUS UNDECIMUM, PRIDIE IDUS FEBRUARII,
IN DOMINO, QUAM FELICISSIME HIC POSITA FATO
FUNGITUR, AN. DOM. 1596.

“Constance Lucy, daughter of D. Thomas Lucy, Junior, Knight, and of D. Constance his wife, of high birth, and about eleven years of age. She died in the Lord most happily the day before the Ides of February (12th February), and was buried here A.D. 1596.”

Also there is upon the brass the effigy of a lady praying, and these verses:—

NASCIMUR ET MORIMUR: NON EXORABILE FATUM.
VITA FUGAX, FRAGILIS, LUBRICA, VANA, BREVIS.
OCYUS IN CAMPIS FLOS FORMOSISSIMUS ARET:
OPTIMA PRÆTEREUNT, DETERIORA MANENT.
RAPTA IMMATURO FATO CONSTANTIA LUCY
NUNC JACET, ET QUONDAM LUCIDA, LUCE CARET.

ANTE ANNOS CONSTANS, HUMILIS, MANSUETA, MODESTA,
 DIXERIS, ET PAPHIA MEMBRA, POLITA MANU.
 IN VERE ÆTATIS PERSENSIT FRIGORA BRUMÆ:
 SIC, SIC, PRAEPROPERE PRÆCOQUA POMA CADUNT.

Which might be translated thus:—

We are born, and we die—implacable fate! Life is fleeting, frail, uncertain, delusive, short. The most beautiful flower in the fields withers more quickly. The best things pass away, the less worthy remain. Snatched away by an untimely fate, Constance Lucy—once so full of light—now lies destitute of light. Beyond her years she was constant, lowly, gentle, modest; and you might say that her limbs had been moulded by the hand of Venus. In the spring of life she experienced the cold of winter. Thus, thus do fruits, prematurely ripe, most quickly fall.

The monument tells us that the beautiful girl was of high birth, which is perfectly true, for her father was descended from an ancient and distinguished family, not a few members of which, for a number of generations, occupied prominent and important positions in the annals of England.

The name seems to have been derived from a place in Normandy; it is therefore probable that the founder of an early branch of the family came over with the Conqueror. As early as the reign of Henry I. there is mention of a “render” made by the King, of the lordship of Dice in Norfolk to Richard de Lucie, of whom I shall have much to say, and who will form the hero of this story. In the reign of Stephen he was appointed governor of Falaise in Normandy, which place he defended with great valour when besieged by Geoffrey of Anjou, for which heroic conduct Lucie had a grant of lands in the county of Essex, with the services of divers persons to hold by ten knights’ fees.

Upon the adjustment of the dispute between Stephen and Henry, the Tower of London and the Castle of Winchester were, by the advice of the clergy, placed in the hands of this

feudal lord, he binding himself by a solemn oath, and the hostage of his son, to deliver them up to King Henry on the death of Stephen. On Henry's accession, Lucie fulfilled his undertaking, and, we shall see, enjoyed the confidence of the King throughout his reign.

Lyttelton says that

"During the reign of Stephen the law had been an empty name. Even where violence did not absolutely control it, the partiality of party and the iniquity of the times corrupted the whole administration of justice. Appeals to the crown, the constitutional and necessary resource of the people, against the too frequent injustice of the nobles had lost their force. The King had not power to give the suitors the relief they demanded. Nor were the lives of his subjects more secure than their properties. The sword of every ruffian was stronger than that of the magistrate, and the most notorious criminals found not only protection, but reward and advancement, if to their private enormities they joined a remorseless and daring alacrity in carrying on the horrors of civil war."

During this sad state of things there was a gleam of sunshine, for Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a good and able man, and he took a very prominent part in the arrangement that, on the death of Stephen, Henry should succeed to the throne. When Stephen died, Theobald was eminently instrumental in preserving the peace of the realm by the extraordinary diligence, prudence, and firmness with which he acted at the head of a regency, or council of state, which had the care of the government till Henry should arrive from Normandy. Theobald's influence also upon the clergy and nobles was such, that when the young King arrived at Winchester, they and the gentry of England crowded from all parts of the kingdom to meet him, not only as their sovereign but as their deliverer. His journey thence to London seemed to be a continued triumphal procession, and the City, which had been attached to Stephen, received him

with the highest marks of affection. A few days afterwards, on the 19th December, the Archbishop crowned Henry and his Queen in Westminster Abbey with much pomp and splendour.

All this being the case, we can quite understand that Theobald was treated by the King with great regard, and had a principal share in the administration of the government. On his accession, the first thing Henry determined to do was to use his utmost endeavours to restore the purity and vigour of justice. He attended personally at the judgments of all the greater causes in his own court, and made frequent progresses into the several counties that he might the better discover and remedy all abuses in the rural jurisdiction or in the behaviour of the judges whom he sent thither as his delegates to administer justice. A constant sense of the superintendence of the royal authority was thus kept up in the minds of the people, and the power of the Crown, which they had been accustomed to despise or hate, they now respected.

The meanest peasant who sued for justice against the highest nobleman was favourably heard, and obtained from the King a speedy redress of his wrongs. Robbers and freebooters were put to death without mercy, and every other breach of the peace was corrected by exemplary punishments, so that the most profligate were awed and restrained. Public security being restored by this necessary rigour and by the continued activity, vigilance, and firmness of the sovereign, agriculture and commerce revived and flourished, whilst virtue and religion were encouraged and advanced. Lyttelton adds :—

“Such were the consequences of Henry’s beneficent government ; and thus he obtained the highest glory a King could attain to : that of having reformed a depraved and corrupted state !” *

* Lyttelton’s “ King Henry II.,” book ii., page 17 (edition 1777).

In order to carry out these reforms, Henry chose the most upright and able men, and, contrary to the usual custom of that time, appointed two laymen in the commission of chief justiciaries, for he saw that the clergy were too powerful, and therefore did not think it advisable to strengthen them still more by such an addition of power as that office gave, desiring rather to make the authority of it a curb upon the Church. These two laymen were Robert de Bellemont, Earl of Leicester, and Richard de Lucie. The former was a man of great prudence, and yet of a resolute spirit, and of known piety. "His colleague" (Lucie), says Lyttelton, "was a gentleman of considerable rank, and one who had distinguished himself as a soldier, but joined to his valour and military abilities the knowledge of a lawyer and talents of a statesman." In choosing him to share this office Henry gave new proof of his not being influenced by the spirit of party, and of having entirely banished those resentments which a narrow mind or a bad heart would have retained. For Richard de Lucie had been in high favour with Stephen, nor had he ever betrayed or deserted his service. Then Lord Lyttelton pays this nobleman a very high compliment by stating that he was one of the most faithful and best servants that any prince ever employed, and that he was as fit to command an army as to preside in a court of judicature or a council of state.

In order the better to understand the position occupied at this time by Richard de Lucie, I must say something about another abuse that Henry was determined to rectify, and which owed its origin to Stephen's extravagance and the insatiable demands of his faction. This abuse was that a considerable portion of the ancient demesnes of the Crown had been alienated, so that the remaining estates were not sufficient to maintain the royal dignity.

Some royal cities and forts of great importance had been granted away, which could not be suffered to continue in the hands of the nobles to whom they had been given, without impairing the strength of the Crown, and no less endangering the peace of the kingdom. Policy and law concurred in demanding these concessions back again. The ancient demesnes of the Crown were held to be sacred, and, like the lands of the Church, so inalienable that no length of time could give a right of prescription to any other possessor even by virtue of grants of the Crown against the claim of succeeding princes. But all these alienations were of no earlier date than the reign of King Stephen, and therefore the resumption of them was free from those difficulties and insuperable objections that must necessarily attend the resuming of grants transmitted through several generations. For these reasons it had been agreed by a separate and secret article in the treaty of Winchester, that whatever lands or possessions had belonged to the Crown at the death of King Henry, should be now restored to it, except those Stephen had granted to his son William, or had been bestowed upon the Church.*

I said that the clause inserted in the Winchester treaty was a secret one, but Henry before attempting to enforce it, determined to obtain openly the consent of Parliament to the measure; he therefore summoned all his nobles, and with few exceptions, they attended. The King then laid before them the wants of the Crown, the losses it had suffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent necessity of a speedy resumption of the royal estates. This assembly of nobles gave their full concurrence to Henry's enforcing the clause referred to above, which he proceeded to put into immediate execution. The spirit of faction was so much overawed by the vigour of his government that he

* Lyttelton's "History of Henry II.," vol. ii., page 8.

met with less opposition than he had reason to expect. Very nearly all that had been granted to laymen, or usurped by them in any manner from the royal demesnes, were surrendered to him, after a little delay, without bloodshed, though with passive marks of reluctance in doing so from some of the greater barons.

There were a few, however, who refused to surrender these royal demesnes, and Roger de Mortimer was one who objected, because the royal castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgnorth had been given to his father by Matilda, the King's mother, for great and distinguished services rendered by him to her. Henry felt, however, that he could not make any distinction without overturning the whole system on which he was proceeding, it being absolutely necessary to recover the just and inseparable rights of the Crown. By this equal and impartial proceeding he left the adherents of Stephen no cause to complain, or apprehend any ill-usage in other respects on account of their past conduct, as was so clearly manifested in Sir Richard de Lucie's case.

These royal castles to which I have referred were situated on the borders of Wales, where Mortimer had great influence, and hoped to defend them against the power of the King; and, though his friends abandoned him, he still persisted in his obstinacy, which caused Henry to lead an army against him and assault all three castles. Though it was expected that each of them would sustain a long siege, they all surrendered to him in a short time. In reference to the taking of Bridgnorth, there is a very good story told by Lord Lyttelton which I cannot refrain from relating, being myself a native of Colchester.

Henry attacked this castle in person, and Mortimer defended it also in person. The King took so active a part in the siege, that he exposed himself to much danger, and

would have been slain if a faithful vassal had not sacrificed his own life for that of his sovereign. Whilst Henry was busy giving orders too near the walls, Hubert de St. Clare, constable or governor of Colchester Castle, who stood by his side, seeing an arrow aimed at the King by one of Mortimer's archers, stepped before him and received the shaft in his own breast. The wound was mortal, and he expired in the arms of his royal master, recommending his infant daughter and only child to his care. It is hard to say which deserves the most admiration—a subject who died to save his King, or a King whose personal virtues could render his safety so dear to a subject, and whom he had not obliged by any extraordinary favours. The daughter of Hubert was educated by Henry with all the affection that he owed to the memory of her father, and, when she had attained to maturity, was honourably married to William de Longueville—a nobleman of great distinction—on condition of his taking the name of St. Clare, which the gratitude of Henry desired to perpetuate.

Mortimer, being constrained to surrender at discretion, expected no mercy from an exasperated sovereign whose power he alone had presumed to defy. This haughty spirit was now constrained to humble itself and make supplications for mercy. Henry was satisfied, forgave him his revolt, and left him in free possession of all his honours and estates, except those that belonged to the demesnes of the Crown.

Thus was concluded this important and arduous business, in the prosecution whereof the King adorned the beginning of his reign with the most illustrious proofs of two royal virtues, by the happy union of which the honour, the peace, and the prosperity of a government are chiefly supported—viz. great firmness and great clemency.

I must now introduce a most remarkable man—Thomas

à Becket—who was so intimately associated with Lucie that it would not be an easy thing to give an account of the one without the other ; though all that can be said of Becket has been many times repeated. It was, as we shall show a little later on, the drawing up of “The Constitutions of Clarendon” by Lucie, that involved the King and Becket in a warfare of great bitterness, which ended in so terrible a tragedy.

I have spoken of Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, having taken an active and able share in the administration, which led the King to treat him with great regard, so that when he recommended Henry to raise Thomas à Becket to the office of chancellor, he at once consented. This was in 1155 ; and as Becket showed himself to be a man of great ability, and apparently much devoted to the King and his interests, Henry placed implicit confidence in him. In 1161 the good Archbishop died, and the King felt it a matter of the utmost consequence that he should raise to that dignity a man who would restrain the licentiousness of the clergy, and bring them under the coercion of the civil authority, and who would dare to support him in asserting his rights against the immoderate pretensions of Rome. Also, he wanted in a primate one upon whose principles and affection he might depend, and he thought he saw in Becket all these qualities, and resolved, therefore, to advance him to that dignity.

Henry had lately given him a signal mark of esteem by entrusting him with the education of the young Prince, his eldest son, and he intended that he should still retain this charge, and the high office of chancellor, together with the archbishopric. This desire of the King, however, did not meet with the approval of the bishops and clergy of England, who, as far as they durst, signified their disapproval to the King. Lord Lyttelton says that the whole

nation cried out against it, and Matilda also did her utmost to dissuade her son from it; but though upon other occasions Henry paid her the greatest respect, he determined to act in this matter on his own judgment.

Nor was Becket less eager than his master, for upon hearing of the death of Archbishop Theobald, he hastened to England in the hope of obtaining the vacant see. Yet he found such unwillingness in the electors, that, notwithstanding all his power and the address he always showed in the conduct of business, twelve months rolled away without any success.

The King, growing impatient at so long a delay, sent over from Normandy his justiciary, Richard de Lucie, to bear his royal mandate to all the monks of Canterbury and suffragan bishops, that, without further deliberation, they should immediately elect his chancellor, Becket, to be their archbishop. So great a minister as Lucie, who brought such an order from a king whom no person in his realm ever disobeyed, except the Lord Mortimer, whose rebellion had ended so disgracefully to himself, could scarcely be resisted by the ecclesiastics. Yet the Bishop of London had the courage to do so, and only gave way when banishment and proscription had been denounced against him and all his relations.

All the other electors were made to understand that if they refused to comply they would be deemed the King's enemies, and be treated as such with the utmost rigour. Henry little thought what anxiety, care, and bitter trouble this one great mistake of his life would afterwards bring upon himself.

All opposition being removed by force of the King's mandate, Becket was elected to the see of Canterbury in May, 1162, and on the 3rd June following was consecrated at Westminster, in the presence of the young Prince Henry,

of Richard de Lucie, and a large number of the clergy and nobility. When the ceremony was over, the Bishop of Hereford was heard to say: "That the King had worked a miracle in having that day turned a layman and a soldier into an archbishop." * What the Bishop meant by "layman" was that Becket was really not in priest's orders. It is true he had taken deacon's orders, and was holding several high appointments in the Church, but he was not actually ordained as a priest until the day before his consecration to the archbishopric.

Becket, as is well known, after being raised to the office of primate, gave the King much trouble. It will be remembered that during his chancellorship the pomp of his retinue, the luxury of his table, and the munificence of his presents, exceeded anything of the kind that had been ever seen in England; but when elected archbishop, he changed his whole course of life, and instead of being clothed in vestments of silk, costly furs, lace, and gold embroidery, he wore sackcloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal, was the more remarked by the world, and which he so seldom changed that it became filled with dirt and vermin. Also instead of a table groaning with every luxury, he adopted for his diet bread and water, which he rendered still more unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs. Yea, more than this, he lacerated his back with a scourge which he frequently used.

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A difference of opinion exists as to his motives for this change, but from what followed there can be no doubt that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character were prompting him to seek an increase of ecclesiastical power in opposition to the King, who was endeavouring to curtail that power, fraught as it was at the time with so many evils.

* Lyttelton.

The ecclesiastics, says Hume, had in that age renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before the courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; and as the clergy had greatly multiplied in England, and many were very low characters, crimes of the deepest dye—murders, robberies, adulteries, etc.—were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, for instance, that no fewer than a hundred murders had been perpetrated by men of that profession since the King's accession, who had never been called to account for those offences, as holy orders had become a full protection for all enormities.

A flagrant case of murder and debauchery having been brought under the King's notice, he demanded that the priest should be brought up and receive condign punishment; but Becket refused this, and confined him in the bishops' prison lest he should be seized by the King's officers. This commenced a struggle so noted in history, when a sovereign of the greatest ability was on the throne, and a prelate of the most inflexible and intrepid character was possessed of the primacy.

Henry convened a council to meet him at Westminster in October, 1163, to which the Bishops and Abbots were summoned. After certain preliminary proceedings, the King came at once to the point in the following speech which has come down to us:—

“I am bent,” says the King, “on maintaining peace and tranquillity throughout my dominions, and much annoyed I am by the disturbances which are occasioned through the crimes of the clergy. They do not hesitate to commit robbery of all kinds, and sometimes even murder. I request, therefore, the consent, my lord of Canterbury, of yourself and of the other Bishops that, when clerics are detected in crimes such as these, and convicted either by the



HENRY THE SECOND.

From his Tomb at Anjou.

judgment of the court, or by their own confession, they shall be delivered over to the officers of my court to receive corporal punishment without any protection from the Church. It is also my will and request, that while the ceremony of degradation is going on, you should allow the presence of some of my officials to prevent the escape of the criminal."

Hook says :—

"Anything more reasonable than this proposal we cannot imagine, and it was proposed in a manner the least offensive—viz. in the form of a request instead of a demand."*

The Bishops were evidently prepared to accede to this proposal; but Becket asked permission for them and himself to withdraw for a short time to confer upon the matter, to which the King assented. Then Becket with impassioned eloquence swayed the Bishops round to his own views, and returning to the King, the Archbishop stated that the result of their consultation was that it was inconsistent with their duty to the Church to give unqualified assent to the King's demands. Henry with some adroitness abandoned the immediate point in dispute, and demanded whether they would conform unreservedly to the usages of his kingdom and the royal constitutions of his ancestors. Becket readily replied, "We will in all things saving our order." This irritated the King so much that he lost all control of his temper, and bursting into a fit of rage, exclaimed, "Nought shall ye say of your order: my constitutions you shall accept and confirm outright, and in plain words."†

After this, at Woodstock, the Archbishop promised to omit the phrase which had given the King so much offence. But Henry replied, "This statement must be publicly made. Publicly you opposed my wishes, and publicly you

* "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. ii., page 399.

† *Idem*, page 400.

must yield your assent. I will fix a day for a council to which I will invite my barons to meet you, the bishops and the clergy ; that from henceforth no one may dare to contravene my laws." *

Though Becket was quite unprepared for this, he could not withhold his consent, and Henry summoned the council to the Castle of Clarendon, a royal manor within a few miles of Salisbury, in January, 1164. This assemblage was one of the most remarkable ever held in England, and was attended by the two archbishops, eleven bishops, and thirty or forty of the highest nobles, together with a multitude of inferior barons. To this distinguished assembly were submitted sixteen propositions which have ever since been known by the name of

"THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON,"

and were drawn up, under the superintendence of the King, by Sir Richard de Lucie, assisted by Joscelin de Baliol. They show us at once what a clever and shrewd man Lucie was, and the legal technicality of their composition proves how suitable a man he must have been for the office of grand justiciary.

In most of the histories of England only short epitomes of these "Constitutions" are given, but in order to do full justice to Lucie, and to give my readers the opportunity of appreciating them to their full extent, I will give them verbatim, as recorded by Matthew Paris and Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford :—

"I. Of the advowson and presentation to churches : If any dispute shall arise between laics, or between clerks and laics, or between clerks, let it be tried and decided in the court of our lord the King.

"II. Churches in the demesne of the King shall not be given, in perpetuity, without his consent and licence.

* "*Lives of the Archbishops.*"

"III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the King's justice into the King's court to answer there for whatever the King's court shall determine they ought to answer them ; yet so that the King's justice shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there be handled, and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church for the future shall not protect him.

"IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person shall leave the kingdom without the King's licence ; and if they wish to leave it the King shall be empowered, if he pleases, to take security from them that they will do no harm to the King or kingdom either in going or remaining or in returning.

"V. Persons excommunicated are not to give bail, *ad remanentiam*, nor to make oath, but only to give bail and pledge that they will stand by the judgment of the Church when they are absolved.

"VI. Laics shall not be accused, save by certain legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop, so that the archdeacon may not lose his rights, or any thing which accrues to him therefrom. And if those who are arraigned are such that no one is willing or dares to accuse them, the sheriff, on demand from the bishop, shall cause twelve loyal men of the village to swear before the bishop that they will declare the truth in that matter according to their conscience.

"VII. No one who holds of the King in chief, nor any of his domestic servants, shall be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under interdict until the King shall be consulted, if he is in the kingdom, or, if he is abroad, his justiciary, that he may do what is right in the matter, and so that whatever belongs to the King's court may therein be settled, and the same on the other hand of the ecclesiastical court.

"VIII. Appeals, if they arise, must be made from the archbishop, and if the archbishop shall fail in administering justice the parties shall come before our lord the King, that by his precept the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court so that it may not proceed further without the consent of our lord the King.

"IX. If a dispute shall arise between a clerk and a laic, or between a laic and a clerk, about a tenement which the clerk wishes to claim as eleemosynary, but the laic claims as lay fee, it shall be settled by the declaration of twelve qualified men through the agency of the King's capital justice whether the tenement is eleemosynary in the presence of the King's justice. And if it shall be declared that it is eleemosynary, it shall be pleaded in the ecclesiastical court ; but

if a lay fee, unless both shall claim the tenement of the same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in the King's court, yet so that the same declaration above named shall not deprive of seizin him, who before was seized until he shall be divested by the pleadings.

"X. If any man, belonging to a city, castle, borough, or King's royal manor, shall be summoned by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for a crime, and shall not comply with the summons, it shall be lawful to place him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him until the King's principal officer of that place be informed thereof, that he may justify his appearing to the summons ; and if the king's officer shall fail in that matter, he shall be at the King's mercy, and the bishop shall forthwith coerce the party accused with ecclesiastical discipline.

"XI. The archbishops, bishops, and all other persons of the kingdom, who hold of the King in chief, shall hold their possessions of the King as barony, and answer for the same to the King's justices and officers, and follow and observe all the King's customs, rectitudes, and be bound to be present in the judgment of the King's court with the barons, like other barons, until the judgment proceeds to mutilation or death.

"XII. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory on the King's domain shall be vacant, it shall be in his hand, and he shall receive from it all the revenues and proceeds as of his domains. And when the time shall come for providing for that church, our lord the King shall recommend the best persons to that church, and the election shall be made in the King's chapel, with the King's consent and the advice of the persons of the kingdom whom he shall have summoned for that purpose. And the person elected shall there do homage and fealty to our lord the King as to his liege lord of life and limb and of his earthly honours, saving his orders, before he is consecrated.

"XIII. If any of the King's nobles shall have refused to render justice to an archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, for himself or any of his men, our lord the King shall justice them. And if by chance any one shall have deforced our lord the King of his rights, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall justice him, that he may render satisfaction to the King.

"XIV. The chattels of those who are in forfeiture to the King shall not be detained by the church or the cemetery in opposition to the King's justice, for they belong to the King, whether they are found in the church or without.

"XV. Pleas for debts which are due, whether with the interposition of a pledge or not, belong to the King's court.

“XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of the lord in whose land they are known to have been born.”

These “Constitutions,” which it will be readily seen form the foundation of our present religious liberty, were, as I have said, the outcome of the mind and genius of Lucie, and therefore his name should be remembered by us with the highest respect.

Becket was taken by surprise when he heard them read, for he found that he was required to make concessions which involved the sacrifice of the great principle which he had devoted his life to maintain. On the second day, therefore, he signified his determination not to accept the “Constitutions” as presented in writing to the council. The King was furious, and accused Becket of having receded from his promise made at Woodstock. Much commotion arose, and swords were drawn by the peers, who expressed their determination to support the King. Becket, however, was not the man to be moved by threats; his courage rose as danger approached, and he said he was prepared for martyrdom. The greater number of the Bishops determined to support their Archbishop, and said, “If the barons would fight for their King, they were prepared to die for their Primate.” The Bishop of Salisbury and the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, however, entreated the Archbishop to yield to the King’s demands.

Just at this time something occurred to lead Becket to change his mind, which was unaccountable to all, and is described by the then Bishop of London in these words* :—

“Let the truth then be told; let the light of day be thrown on what was then done in the presence of us all. It was the leader of our chivalry himself who turned his back, the captain of our camp who fled; his lordship of Canterbury himself withdrew from our fraternity and from our determination, and after holding counsel for awhile apart, he returned to us and said aloud: ‘It is God’s will

* “Lives of the Archbishops,” vol. ii., page 141.

that I should perjure myself for the present. I submit, and incur perjury, to repent of it hereafter as I may!"

The Bishop adds :

"We were thunderstruck at these words, and gazed one upon another, groaning in spirit at this fall of one whom we thought a champion of virtue and constancy."

Becket attached both his name and his seal to the "Constitutions," and even, conjointly with the Archbishop of York, applied to the Pope * to confirm the "Constitutions"; but all the time he was dissembling with the King. For he had suspended himself from celebrating the Mass, in testimony of his penitence for the crime he had committed by consenting to those laws; and there is extant a letter from that pontiff to him, dated on the calends of April, which enjoins him to return to the service of the altar, lest his absence from it should occasion a public scandal, and absolves him from his sin, out of regard to the necessity he was supposed to be under, and to his intention in giving that unwilling consent.

This secret absolution from the Pope was unknown at that time to Henry, but it shows how double-faced Becket was.

After the struggle between Henry and Becket had continued for some time, the Archbishop secretly left England, travelling in disguise; but on reaching France was hospitably received by Louis VII., and resumed his state as Archbishop of Canterbury, and was soon enabled to visit the Pope at Sens, attended by an escort of three hundred knights. As he was drawing nigh to Sens, the Cardinals went out to meet him on horseback, and when he entered the papal presence his Holiness rose from his seat to receive him.

The Pope procured him an asylum in the Cistercian

* Alexander III.

monastery of Pontigny, about twelve leagues from Sens, where he remained two years. The contest, however, still raged, and Becket was preparing to excommunicate Henry, but was dissuaded by the Pope. He, however, determined to strike the King through his ministers; so that, proceeding on his way to Vézelay, a town at that time of considerable importance, on the borders of Burgundy, he entered the cathedral, which was filled by an immense congregation, who had come to keep the Whitsun Festival. Becket ascended the pulpit, and first denounced John of Oxford as excommunicated, and then proceeded to excommunicate our hero, Richard de Lucie, and Joscelin de Baliol for various causes; but the real motive, doubtless, was to punish them for having drawn up "The Constitutions of Clarendon." To us this would appear of trifling importance, and most of us would do as Luther did—cast any document of excommunication into the fire. It was, however, a very different thing at that time; for a man who had been excommunicated was shunned by all devout and Christian people, and it was fully believed that if he died in a state of excommunication, his soul, instead of passing into purgatory, would go direct to Hell.

Many a wicked man indulged in crime from the hope that either by penance in this world, or by suffering in purgatory, he might expiate his offences; and the thought of this life being the only time of trial, frequently became overwhelming to those who, in a state of constant warfare, were always in danger of sudden death. Excommunication was, in consequence, a very powerful weapon.

It was therefore a very serious thing indeed for Becket to make use of such an instrument against the King's chief ministers, and, there is no doubt, led to his death; for the assassins, before they committed the horrible murder, insisted that Becket should immediately absolve all whom

he had placed under ecclesiastical censures, and I think it more than probable that had he consented, even in part, his life would have been spared. The brave manner, however, in which he met his cruel death manifests clearly that he considered himself in the right, and that the "Constitutions" drawn up by Lucie were such as would strike a blow at the immunities of the Church, for which he was ready to die.

No one could, I think, read the accounts given of Becket's death without being struck with his fortitude when, after receiving the first blow, he knelt down facing his assassins, bent his head, and said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," and, without shrinking or speaking, awaited the second blow, which threw him on his knees and elbows; whilst the third, given by Richard Brito, cut off the upper part of his skull, and the Archbishop fell dead upon the pavement in front of the altar.

In all cases where the crime of assassination is resorted to, the cause of the assassinated man, whether right or wrong, is sure to triumph for a time, and such was the case on this occasion; the good that was intended to have been brought about by those "Constitutions of Clarendon" was retarded for a very long time. In reference to this Lingard says:—

"Thus, at the age of 53, perished this extraordinary man, a martyr to what he deemed to be his duty, the preservation of the immunities of the Church. The moment of his death was the triumph of his cause. His personal virtues and exalted station, the dignity and composure with which he met his fate, the sacredness of the place where the murder was perpetrated—all contribute to inspire men with horror for his enemies and veneration for his character. The advocates of 'the customs' were silenced. Those who had been eager to condemn were now the foremost to applaud his conduct; and his bitterest foes sought to remove from themselves the

odium of having been his persecutors. The cause of the Church again flourished, its liberties seemed to derive new life and additional vigour from the blood of their champion."

Henry's after conduct proved how horrified he was at the crime, but upon that I must not enter, having only to do with de Lucie's part in this ecclesiastical struggle, and what followed from the "Constitutions," which he drew up, but which were not enforced during four years after the death of Becket, and then in only a modified form. I must, however, just notice that after this tragic event Henry had much difficulty in repressing a series of rebellions that sprang up both in England and on the Continent; and whilst he was endeavouring to repress those connected with his foreign possessions, he raised Sir Richard de Lucie to the high position of his lieutenant, or regent, in England. Lucie faithfully discharged his trust, and effectually put down a rebellion headed by the Earl of Leicester, who was assisted by an army of Flemings, which was totally routed, very few of the infantry escaping alive; and most of the Flemish horsemen, with their two chiefs, Hugh de Chatel and Walton de Wahull, and the Earl of Leicester himself, were made prisoners of war.

Further rebellions springing up, Sir Richard sent the Bishop of Winchester over to Henry to urge his immediate return to England. The King saw the necessity of doing so, but on reaching his kingdom, instead of joining Sir Richard's army immediately, first made a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, and suffered himself to be scourged by the Bishops and monks, not for having instigated the murder of the Primate, but because he had uttered hasty and rash words that had been misinterpreted by the knights who committed this horrible crime. This was in 1174; and as soon as Henry had recovered from the fever brought on by his severe penance, he placed himself at the head of his troops,

and, with the aid of Lucie and other faithful generals, suppressed for the time the various rebellions.

Space will not permit my dwelling longer upon the history of Sir Richard, who continued to enjoy the most perfect confidence of Henry, and certainly was one of the most faithful and able of those ministers who are inscribed upon the roll of England's great men.

About five years after this (1178) Richard founded the Abbey of Lesnes, in Kent; and now we shall see what effect the sad murder of Becket had upon him. Whilst writing his history, and noticing what a noble-minded man he was, and how much he was esteemed by Henry, I was a little anxious to ascertain his opinion of what had transpired at Canterbury, and could not at first find any reference to it, but afterwards discovered that he had founded an Abbey; I then searched in Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," the first edition of which was published in 1655, and there I found that Sir Richard de Lucie dedicated the Abbey to "St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr." Here, then, was evidence what Lucie thought of the murder, by his publicly dedicating this building to Becket, under the titles of "Saint" and "Martyr." And more than that, he seems to have formed the idea that it would be an acceptable act to God for him to give up all his honourable and high appointments, and leave his magnificent castles in order to retire to the religious house he had built. This he did, and took the habit of one of the canons regular. We certainly should not consider Becket a saint, and scarcely a martyr; but it was a most honourable thing for Lucie, living in those times, to acknowledge such titles, considering what he had had to suffer from Becket, who had gone so far as to excommunicate him—a proceeding, as I said before, looked upon as a most terrible calamity in those days. Also Becket set himself up in opposition to "The Constitutions of

Clarendon," which gave both Lucie and Henry an immense deal of anxiety and trouble. Therefore, the dedication of this Abbey to the erring Archbishop was undoubtedly a Christian act of rendering good for evil.

Henry was much distressed at losing so old, faithful, and useful a minister. He therefore, with pressing entreaties, desired him to retain his appointments; but in those times even the wisest men believed it almost a necessary means of salvation to die in a convent, and Sir Richard was not above the superstition. Bishop Tanner says that he died fourteen months after entering the Abbey, before it was really finished, and Burke says he was buried in its chapter-house.

On his retiring, the high office of Grand Justiciary of England was jointly exercised by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich, assisted by some lay assessors in that court: amongst these, the most eminent was Ranulf de Granville, who, in the following year, was made Grand Justiciary, and in whom, as in Lucie, the abilities of lawyer and soldier were united.*

A few words in reference to this Abbey, founded by the hero of my story, of which perhaps my readers would like a few particulars. Geoffrey de Lucie, Bishop of Winchester in 1189, a relative of Sir Richard, was a great benefactor to this house. In the forty-ninth year of Henry III. the Abbot of Lesnes was summoned to Parliament, and also in the twenty-third of Edward I.; but when Edward III. reduced the number of abbots summoned to Parliament the Abbot of Lesnes was omitted.†

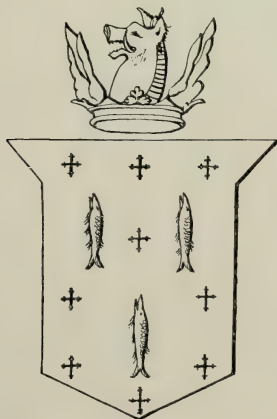
In the reign of Henry VIII. Cardinal Wolsey, in 1524, obtained permission to suppress it, to assist in raising a revenue for his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. This

* Lord Lyttelton's "History of Henry II."

† "Monasticon Anglicanum," page 456.

Henry granted to the Cardinal for the purpose he desired ; but when he fell, and a writ of *præmunire* was issued against him, the King granted the site and demesnes of this house to William Brereton, Esq. ; but he, becoming entangled with the charges against Queen Catherine Howard, on his attainder, forfeited them, and then Henry granted them to Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight. Subsequently passing through several hands, the site and demesne of this Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr were purchased, in the reign of Charles I., by Mr. Hawes of London, who, by his last will, settled them for ever upon the hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, a part of the endowment of which, I believe, it still continues to enjoy.

The arms of the Lucys derived from their noble ancestor are:—Gules, serrée of cross crosslets, Or, three luces hauriant proper. Crest—Out of a ducal crest coronet gules, a boar's head ermine, between two wings sable, billetée or.



ARMS OF SIR RICHARD DE LUCIE.

III.

The Pelham Buckle.



TOMB OF SIR JOHN PELHAM AND HIS SON
IN HOLY TRINITY, MINORCHES.

See page 437.

The Pelham Buckle.

I MUST now notice a monument on the north wall of the church (see opposite page) which was erected in 1584 by Lady Pelham to her husband and son, beneath which is a large buckle, and on the escutcheons will be seen two straps with buckles. The history of this buckle is very interesting, as its addition to the family arms was won on the battlefield of Poitiers by Sir John de Pelham, of which I shall presently give a full account.

There has been a little difference of opinion as to whether the origin of the family was Saxon or Norman. The name Pelham is doubtless Saxon—from *pal*, a pale of stakes, and *ham*, a village or estate. Hence, therefore, Pelham signifies a settlement or estate surrounded with pales—no uncommon defence in ancient times. We retain the syllable *pal* to the present day in the word *palings*, with which we surround our deer parks, etc. Mr. E. Avenel, who has made the history of our oldest families his special study, is, however, of opinion that the Pelhams are of Norman and not of Saxon blood; for he gives good proofs that they descended from Gilbert Crespin, Baron of Bec in Normandy, who became possessed of Pelham in Hertfordshire at the time of the Norman Conquest; and also states that members of that family, who were near kinsmen, bore the names of Bec and Pelham indifferently.

In the unsettled state of surnames soon after the

Conquest, it is not remarkable that the brothers should be called respectively de Pelham and de Bec—the former taking his surname from a newly-acquired territory in a conquered land, and the other retaining his ancestral family name from his ancient estate in another country.

Mr. Lower remarks that, notwithstanding the family of Pelham in England and that of de Bec in Normandy, dating from 1034, are identical, the Pelhams may nevertheless be of Anglo-Saxon origin, because for many years before the Conquest there were intimate relations between England and Normandy: many English families having obtained possessions in Normandy, while many Normans had acquired lands in this country. Hence, Gilbert Crespin might have been an Anglo-Saxon who had settled upon an estate in Normandy.*

It has been found that the Pelhams, between the years 1066 and 1086, had acquired good lands in Hertfordshire, and that they became associated with the county of Sussex by territorial possessions as early as the reign of Edward I. The reason of this migration from Hertfordshire to Sussex is unknown; but from the fourteenth century the latter county has been the *locale* of the elder line and of the several subordinate branches. I will pass by the early members of the family, in order at once to tell the story of the large buckle on our church wall, where it has been for the past 300 years.

In 1346 John de Pelham succeeded his father, Thomas de Pelham, and entered upon the family estates, which were very extensive. Besides his wealth, he was a person of great eminence in the reign of Edward III., his military career being a splendid one, especially when he attended personally on the King in his wars with France. He was also greatly respected by the Prince of Wales (frequently

* "Historical Notices of the Pelham Family," page 7.

called Edward the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour), and was present with that Prince at the

BATTLE OF POICTIERS,

which was fought on Monday, the 19th September, 1356; of which battle most English historians give very curtailed accounts. I will endeavour, however, to describe it fully, because it will afford me the opportunity of telling how it was the family obtained the addition to their arms of the strap and buckle of which they are so justly proud.

One day, after a long march, the English came within five miles of Poitiers, and unexpectedly fell in with the rear of the French army, which was commanded by King John in person. The Prince of Wales immediately saw the danger he was in, and exclaimed, "God help us! It only remains for us to fight bravely." The odds were greatly against the English, for, according to Froissart,* King John had in all about forty or fifty thousand men, amongst whom were the flower of his nobility, whilst Prince Edward seems to have had no more than eight thousand men. Notwithstanding this great disparity between them, the Prince arranged his army in so favourable a position, that the French felt it would by no means be an easy matter to defeat the English. They might at the time have also remembered Crécy and the signal defeat they had sustained only ten years before; whilst the English were doubtless inspirited by the recollection of that fight.

This was Sunday morning, and just as the French were on the point of marching, Cardinal de Perigord came in full gallop up to the King, and making a low reverence, entreated him, for the love of God, to halt for a moment

* Vol. i., feuillet cix., of original edition, which the Museum authorities think was printed in 1495.

that he might speak to him. King John ordered a halt and listened to the Cardinal, who said :—

“Most dear sire, you have here with you all the flower of the knighthood of your kingdom against a handful of people such as the English are when compared to your army : you may have them upon other terms than by a battle, and it will be more honourable and profitable to you to gain them by this means than to risk such a fine army and such noble persons as you have now with you. I therefore beseech you, in all humility and by the love of God, that you permit me to go to the Prince and remonstrate with him on the dangerous situation he is in.” *

The King consented, but told the Cardinal to return quickly. The Cardinal upon this set off, and went with all speed to the Prince, whom he found on foot in the midst of his army, and who received him most courteously. After paying the Prince every mark of respect, he said :—

“‘Fair son, if you have well considered the great army of the King of France, you will permit me to make up matters between you both, if I possibly can.’ The Prince replied : ‘Sire, my own honour and that of my army saved, I am ready to listen to any reasonable terms.’ The Cardinal answered : ‘Fair son, you say well, and I will bring about a treaty if I can, for it would be a great pity that so many worthy persons who are here should meet in battle.’”

He then returned to the King, and entreated him to grant a truce until the next day. At first John would not agree to it, for some of his counsellors refused their consent ; but at last the Cardinal prevailed.

All that Sunday the Cardinal rode from one army to the other, being very anxious to reconcile the two parties, in which it would seem that he took our Lord’s precept for his motto, “Blessed are the peace-makers.” Many proposals were made, and the Prince offered to surrender to the King of France all the towns and castles which he had

* Froissart, vol. i., feuillet cxi.

conquered during this expedition, to give up without ransom all his prisoners, and to swear he would not for seven years take up arms against the King of France.

Well would it have been for John if he had consented to these terms, but he and his council refused to accept them, and at last, as his ultimatum, declared that unless the Prince of Wales and one hundred of his knights surrendered as prisoners, he would not allow them to pass without an engagement. The Prince rejected these conditions with disdain, and both prepared to fight.

With regard to the numbers of each army, Froissart gives some particulars which are rather interesting. While the officers were drawing up their men in preparation for the battle, King John desired Lord Eustace Ribeaumont, Lord John de Landas, and Lord Guiscard de Beaujeu to go and take a view of the English army and ascertain how many there were and what would be the best way to attack them. The three knights started off on their mission; and whilst they were gone, the King, mounted on a large white courser that could be seen of all, came up to the head of his army, and with a loud voice said :—

“Messieurs, when you were at Paris, at Chartres, at Orleans and Rouen, you threatened these Englishmen terribly, and wished nothing more than to be in arms against them. Now shall your desire be granted; I'll lead you where you shall be sure to find them, and how well you can revenge all the displeasures and damages which they have done you, for without doubt we shall not part without blows.”

This was answered briskly by such as were within hearing: “Sire, in God's name be it so; we desire nothing else, and would gladly see our enemies.”

Soon after the Lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, with his companions, returned to the King, who gave him an account in this manner: “Sire, we have viewed the

Englishmen, and by our estimation they are not above two thousand men at arms, four thousand archers, and one thousand five hundred others, howbeit they are encamped in a strong place." This, then, gives us, as Prince Edward's army, nearly eight thousand men; there might have been more or less. King John's army, Froissart says, was divided into three parts, each part consisting of 16,000 men, which would be an army of not less than 48,000. In another place Froissart says that 40,000 horsemen crossed the bridge at Chauvigny; therefore a very large portion of the army was composed of cavalry, and only about 8,000 were infantry.

On the Monday morning the Prince and his army were soon in readiness, and well arrayed. The French also were drawn out by sunrise. Cardinal de Perigord again endeavoured to pacify both parties, but he received a severe rebuke from the French, and a warning that if he attempted to bring to them any more treaties for peace it might be the worse for him. Seeing that he laboured in vain, he rode over to the Prince and said, "Fair son, exert yourself as much as possible, for there must be a battle. I cannot by any means pacify the King of France." The Prince replied that "such were the intentions of himself and his army, and God defend the right." Then he addressed his army in these manly words:—

"Now, my gallant fellows, what though we be a small body compared to the army of our enemies, do not let us be cast down on that account, for victory does not always follow numbers, but where Almighty God pleases to bestow it. If, through good fortune, the day shall be ours, we shall gain the greatest honour and glory in this world; if the contrary should happen and we be slain, I have a father and fair brethren alive, and you all have some relations or good friends who will be sure to revenge our deaths. I therefore entreat of you to exert yourselves and combat manfully, for, if it please God and St. George, you shall see me this day act like a true knight."

This noble speech was communicated by the officers to the various divisions of the army, which put them all into the highest spirits. It must be remembered that this brave young commander was only twenty-five at this time, and yet he seemed to have the wisdom and the courage of a veteran. Sir John Chandos placed himself near the Prince to guard and advise him, and never during the day would he quit his post.

The engagement began on both sides, when the English archers displayed such wonderful skill in shooting their arrows that the advancing battalion of the French marshals was thrown into confusion. Indeed, through the whole battle these archers performed many wondrous achievements, and contributed largely to the success of the day, during which there were numerous valiant deeds done on both sides. One knight on the Prince's staff, Lord James Audley, distinguished himself above all others by extraordinary acts of bravery in the very front of the battle. Soon another battalion, under the Duke of Normandy, was thrown into disorder, and in all directions the French seemed to be giving way; upon which Sir John Chandos said to Prince Edward, "Sire, sire, now push forward, for the day is ours; God will this day put it into your hands. Let us make for our adversary, the King of France; for where he is, there will be the main stress of the business. I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it please God and St. George; but he must be well fought with, and you have before said that you would show yourself this day a good knight."

The Prince replied, "Sir John, set forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be amongst the foremost." Then turning to Sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, he said, "Banner, advance in the name of God and St. George," and then plunged

into the hottest of the fight, and overthrew one battalion after another of the French.

King John had brought with him his four sons—Charles, Duke of Normandy, the Lord Louis, afterwards Duke of Anjou, the Lord John, afterwards Duke of Berry, the Lord Philippe, afterwards Duke of Burgundy. The first three of these, acting upon advice given them, rode away from the battle with eight hundred lances, and took the road to Chauvigny. This departure of so many men from the field being noticed, without the cause being known was considered a flight, and occasioned a further panic in the French army. The King, however, stood his ground, and with his son Philippe marched his battalion against the English, when many hard blows were given with swords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons: King John, on his part, proving himself to be a most brave and valiant knight, so that Froissart says, “If his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own.” He was armed with a battle-axe, with which he did wonders. The Lord de Chargny, who was near the King, and carried his banner, fought bravely during the whole engagement, but was at last slain, with the banner in his hands.

There was much pressing at this time through eagerness to take the King; and those that were near to him and knew him cried out, “Surrender, sire, or you are a dead man.” In that part of the field there was a young knight, Denis de Morbeque, from St. Omer, but who had for five years been engaged in the English service; seeing the King very much pushed about, he forced his way through the crowd and said to the King in good French, “Sire, sire, surrender yourself.” The King, turning to him, asked, “To whom shall I surrender—to whom? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales? If I could see him, I would speak to him.” “Sire,” replied Sir Denis, “he is not here, but surrender yourself to

me and I will lead you to him." "Who are you?" said the King. "Sire, I am Denis de Morbeque, a knight from Artois, but I serve the King of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there." The King then gave him his right glove, and said, "I surrender myself to you." There was, however, so much crowding and pushing, that Sir Denis was separated from the King, and a number of English knights and squires struggled for and claimed the royal prize. Amongst whom were Sir Roger de la Warr and Sir John de Pelham, to whom it is said the King surrendered. Now John was as chivalrous as he was brave; and knowing that it would be difficult for those knights to prove their having taken him prisoner without some trophies from himself, took off his sword-belt and gave it to Sir John de Pelham, and handed the scabbard of his sword to Sir Roger de la Warr, reserving, we may presume, his sword that he might surrender it personally to Prince Edward, who was some little distance off.

About this time Sir John Chandos, who had never quitted the Prince the whole day, said: "Sire, it will be proper for you to halt here and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered, and you must refresh yourself." Upon this the Prince took off his helmet, and the knights attendant upon his person had at once a small crimson pavilion pitched, into which he entered and took some refreshment.

Soon two of his marshals came back, and the Prince asked them if they knew anything of the King of France. "No, sire," they replied; "we believe he must be either killed or taken prisoner, for he has never left his battalion." Upon which the Prince, turning to the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, said: "I beg of you to mount your

horses and ride over the field, so that on your return you may give me some intelligence of him." The two barons, ascending a hillock, saw in the distance the crowd surrounding King John and the danger he was in. They galloped to the spot, and in the name of the Prince commanded every one, under pain of instant death, to keep their distance and not approach, unless ordered or desired to do so. They all retreated behind the King, and the two barons, dismounting, advanced with profound reverence and offered their services to conduct him to the Prince. We may feel quite sure that Sir John de Pelham and Sir Roger de la Warr followed behind with their trophies, which John, gallant soldier as he was, would have been sure to recognise on his arrival at the Prince's tent.

I am sorry that Froissart does not mention the incident of the sword-strap and scabbard, but it is related by many other old historians. I think, therefore, we may rely upon the traditions and ancient documents preserved by both families in reference to it, the present heads of whom are the Earls of Chichester and de la Warr. Both these families reside in Sussex, upon their old ancestral lands, and Lower says that "this is probably a unique instance of two great families dwelling, as it were, side by side for between five and six centuries in the direct line, neither having become extinct; and, what is still more curious, both enjoying the badges so valorously won at Poitiers."

In relating this story, Mr. Lower says* that the King "tore off the crampet, or chape, of his sword and gave it to la Warr, at the same time presenting to Pelham the buckle of his sword-belt." Now Lower must be wrong in this, for the crampet is not any part of a sword, but is the ornamental piece of metal at the bottom of the scabbard,

* "The Worthies of Sussex," page 40.

made of gold, silver, brass or steel. This King John certainly could not in the bustle have torn off, as it would have been firmly riveted on. Nor could he have detached the buckle from the sword-belt; he would have had to cut it off. Moreover, a portion of the belt will be seen on the escutcheon. What therefore most probably happened was that he gave the sword-belt, as I have stated, to Sir John de Pelham, and the scabbard to Sir Roger de la Warr, retaining his sword in order to surrender it to the Prince of Wales. Arthur Collins, who wrote the history of the Black Prince, in 1740, gives this account of the circumstance * :—

“It appears that John de Pelham, afterwards knighted, was the first that came up to him and laid hold of his belt, but Sir Roger de la Warr got his sword, and in memory of their services and the honour thus attained, the descendants of Sir John de Pelham constantly used the buckle of a belt as a badge and on their seals; and the descendants of Sir Roger de la Warr had also the crampet, or chape, of a sword for a badge, from whom the present Lord de la Warr is maternally descended.”

This was written 150 years ago, and is equally absurd with Mr. Lower's statement. As will be seen at once, for these two knights to have gone up to King John and to have snatched away his sword and sword-belt would have been a most unchivalrous proceeding, not at all worthy of commendation; but to be presented by John with the trophies I have mentioned would be honours indeed, that their descendants might well be proud of to this day. Moreover, there is the same blunder in reference to the crampet, or chape, being a portion of a sword.

I cannot leave this story of Poitiers without telling of the supper that the Prince of Wales gave on that evening to the King of France, and the greater part of the princes

and barons who had been taken prisoners with him. The Prince placed King John and his son, Prince Philippe, with some of the distinguished French barons, who had been taken prisoners with them, at an elevated table, and the other knights and esquires at different tables. The Prince himself served the King's table with every mark of humility, and would not sit down at it in spite of all the entreaties of King John that he would do so, saying he was not worthy of such an honour, nor did it appertain to him to seat himself at the table of a great king, or of so valiant a man as he had shown himself to be by his actions of that day. The Prince continued these personal attentions to the King during the supper, and when he perceived that the countenance of his royal guest was much cast down, and noticed that his defeat was greatly distressing him, with a spirit of generosity almost unparalleled, addressed him thus :—

“Sire, there is no cause why you, who are the most brave and valiant among Christian kings, should continue thus pensive and troubled : although at this time your arms have not been favoured by Him in Whose disposal all battles are. For still your generosity is acknowledged, your dignity preserved, and your Majesty held sacred, and whatsoever was truly yours remaineth still entire neither to be violated nor impaired by time or any other force. God Almighty hath ordained that as in all other things, so the fortunes of war should remain in His hands alone. Your progenitors have achieved many glorious enterprises as well by sea as by land. The whole compass of Europe, all the East, all realms and countries both far and near, are filled with the trophies and victories of France. The faith and grandeur of the Christian name have, by your predecessors and their subjects, been defended and propagated against the most mighty and puissant captains of the Infidels. Your valour and the reputation of your arms are celebrated and renowned through the whole world. There is no nation that doth not confess its obligations to the French, and no people that may not yet expect to be beholden to them for favours.

“Perhaps amongst so many innumerable triumphs one or two battles have succeeded a little otherwise than you wanted. The

usual instability of fortune would have it so, which sometimes baffles the force of multitudes, and conquers the opposition of men, horse and armour. But it lies in the power of your own magnanimity to harden your soul against adversity, and to keep your mind still unconquered. Nor shall this day detract anything from you or yours ; for my part, I promise you, that this realm of France in which we are, and which hath produced and nourished many of my progenitors, shall find me grateful to her and mindful of my original ; and towards your Majesty, if you will permit me to glory in that title, a most humble and respectful kinsman.

"There are many reasons to preserve love and friendship betwixt you and my father which I hope will be not a little prevalent ; for I know well the most intimate thoughts and affections of his mind, and that you will easily come to a reasonable agreement with him. And as for me, may he then refuse to own me for his son when I cease to hold you in the same degree of reverence, honour, and respect which I owe unto his person. In my opinion, you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired, for you have this day acquired such high renown for prowess that you have surpassed all the best knights on your side. I do not, dear sire, say this to flatter you, for all those of our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it."*

A speech so full of courtesy and humility from a young prince who was little more than twenty-five years of age, and who had conquered a large army five or six times more numerous than his own, surprised the French lords, who said softly amongst themselves : "The Prince has spoken nobly, and he will be one of the most gallant princes of Christendom, if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory."

King John was roused at Prince Edward's gallant speech, and replied :—

"Though it hath been our chance to fall into an inconsolable sorrow, yet for all that, noble cousin, we think it becomes us to smother our griefs as much as we may, since though by the law of

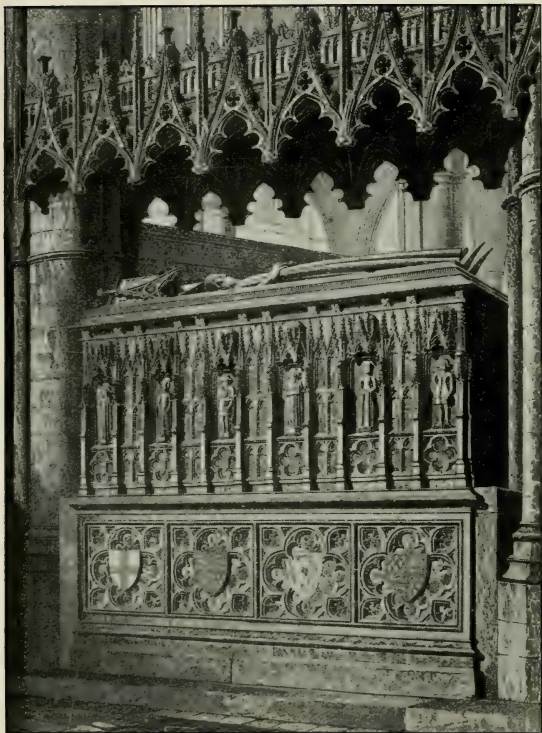
* Collins's "*History of the Black Prince*," page 96.

arms and the chance of war we be under the subjection of another, yet it is under so worthy a prince as yourself by whom we be vanquished is no dishonour, especially since we were not, as cowards or faint-hearted runagates, taken in flight or lying hid in a corner, but in the open field with sword in hand, where we were as ready to die as to live in defence of justice."

The Prince manifested the same courteous bearing during the whole evening, and the next morning proceeded to Bordeaux, where he remained with King John and his other noble prisoners for several months, which were spent in pleasure, feasting, and entertainments. On the 24th of April, 1357, nearly seven months after the battle of Poitiers, Prince Edward set sail for England, and landed with John at Sandwich, whence he proceeded by easy journeys to London. His father, King Edward III.,* had given the necessary directions for his entry into the capital under the pretence of doing honour to the King of France, but which one would think was a very doubtful honour, for it would serve to remind that monarch of his captivity, and make him the principal ornament in the triumph of his conqueror. Arches were thrown across the streets; tapestry, plate, and arms were suspended from the windows; and the road was lined with crowds of spectators.

The Lord Mayor, at the head of more than a thousand citizens, divided into companies, distinguished by their respective devices and colours, proceeded to meet the Prince and his attendants in Southwark. The King of France was mounted on a cream-coloured charger with magnificent trappings, whilst the young Edward rode on a small pony without anything to distinguish him; but he did not elude the eager eyes of the spectators, who hailed him with loud acclamations as the conqueror of Poitiers.

* Not finding an authenticated portrait of Edward III., the father of the Black Prince, I have given on page 68 a photograph of his beautiful tomb in Westminster Abbey, showing his effigy lying upon it.



TOMB OF EDWARD THE THIRD
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

See note, page 67.

Some hours elapsed before the cavalcade could reach Westminster Hall, where the King was seated on his throne surrounded by his prelates and barons. When John entered, he rose, then descended to embrace him and to lead him to a splendid banquet that had been prepared for him. The palace of Savoy was first allotted to him and his son for their residence, and afterwards the castle of Windsor.

There is a good story told by Arthur Collins (page 87), that I cannot omit, in reference to the title of "*Hardi*," which Philippe, the youngest son of John, obtained when he was a prisoner with his father in England, and shows how similar human nature was then to what it is now.

One day, when the two kings were dining together, this young prince, amongst some of the nobility of both nations, was appointed to wait on the royal personages, when a young English nobleman happening to serve King Edward before his father, Philippe hit him a box on the ear, saying, "How dare you serve the King of England first when the King of France sits at the table!" The young nobleman drew his dagger and offered to strike the Prince, but King Edward loudly forbade him, and said to the royal youth, "*Vous estes Philippe le hardi.*" From that time forth this prince was called "*Philippe le hardi.*"

A truce for two years had been concluded to end on 24th June, 1359, and a few months before its expiration King Edward, with his son the Prince of Wales, and King John, with Lord James of Bourbon, held a friendly treaty at Westminster between themselves only, when peace was agreed upon between the two kings on these terms:—

That Aquitain should remain entirely to King Edward and his heirs for ever; together with Gascoigne, Poictou, Touraine, Xangtone, Perigord, Quercy, Limosin, Angoulesmois, Calais, Guisnes, Bulonois, and the earldom of

Ponthieu, without any resort or homage or tribute, even as absolutely as he held his kingdom of England. Also, that King John should pay for the ransom of himself three millions of crowns of gold, and one million for the lords of France. In consideration of all which, King Edward would



BUCKLE IN TRACERY OF WINDOW OF
CROWHURST CHURCH.

give over and wholly remit all his right in the duchy of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; and renounce and lay aside the right which he had to the French crown; and never after take upon himself the style, quality, or title of King of France.

This treaty was signed and sealed by both kings on the 24th March preceding the conclusion of the

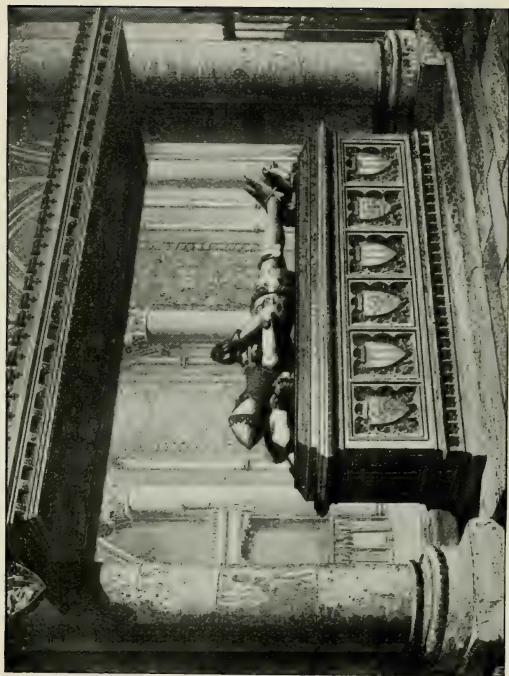
truce, and a copy was sent into France to the regent, who rejected it *in toto*, so that King John remained a prisoner in England, and Edward, as soon as the time of the truce was expired, invaded France with a still larger army than before.*

* Collins, page 117 *et seq.*

I have thus given a pretty full account of the battle of Poitiers and its results, in order that the value attached to the Pelham Buckle, which is so familiar an object in East Sussex as the family badge, may be fully appreciated. It appears, indeed, on many a church tower, chimney, bath, milestone, and font, as an augmentation of the family arms, and even as a sign for wayside inns and a mark for sheep, showing how widely spread and well received has been the tradition.

Edward the Black Prince was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, of whose tomb I give a photograph on page 72.

Sir John de Pelham found honourable sepulture also in Canterbury Cathedral, and, according to Collins, his figure in armour, with the arms of his family upon his breast, were painted in glass in the chapter-house there. He was succeeded by his son, John de Pelham, who was no less famous than his father. From his youth he was in the service of Henry of Bolingbroke, the Earl of Hereford, and afterwards King Henry IV., who was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. This Duke of Lancaster, in 1394, conferred on Pelham the office of the Constable of the Castle of Pevensey, giving as his reason his "knowing and confiding in the loyalty and discretion of his most dear and well-beloved John de Pelham, Esq., to his said son Henry." In December, 1398, the Earl of Hereford was banished for ten years by the King, and the next year his father, John of Gaunt, died; so that, though in exile, the Earl succeeded to his father's title of Duke of Lancaster. A few months afterwards, in July, 1399, this Henry of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with a view of dethroning King Richard, and John de Pelham was with him. In consequence of which, Richard's troops besieged Pevensey Castle in his absence, and his wife, Joan Crownall, had, comparatively unsupported, to bear the



TOMB OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE
IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

See page 71.

brunt of a long and painful siege. In reference to this there is existing a remarkable and most interesting letter that was written by this courageous woman to her husband; and though the only record we have of her, it places her at once upon the roll of English worthies. The following is a copy of this letter, with the orthography modernised:—

“My Dear Lord,

“I recommend to your high Lordship with heart and body and all my poor might. And with all this I thank you as my dear Lord—dearest and most beloved of all earthly lords—with all this that I said before of [for] your comfortable letter that you sent to me from Pontefract, that came to me on Mary Magdalen's day; for by my troth I was never so glad as when I heard by your letter that ye were strong enough with the grace of God for to keep you from the malice of your enemies. And my dear Lord if it like to your high Lordship that as soon as ye might, that I might hear of your gracious speed, which God Almighty continue and increase. And my dear Lord if it like you to know of my fare, I am here laid by in a manner of a siege with the county of Sussex, Surrey, and a great parcel of Kent, so that I may not [go] out nor no victuals get me but with much hard.* Wherefore my dear, if it like you by the advice of your wise counsel for to set remedy of the salvation of your castle, and withstand the malice of the shires aforesaid. Also that ye be fully informed of the great malice workers in these shires which have so despisefully wrought to you and to your castle, to your men and to your servants; for this country have they wasted for a great while.

“Farewell, my dear Lord! The Holy Trinity keep you from your enemies and soon send me good tidings of you. Written at Pevensey, in the Castle, on St. Jacob's day last past,

“By your own poor

“J. PELHAM.

“To my true Lord.”

A more excellent specimen of female bravery or conjugal love and fidelity is probably not to be found in the annals of this or any other country, and it possesses the additional interest that Hallam believes it to be the earliest

* With much difficulty.

letter extant written by a lady in the *English* language, for the few ladies who could write in those days corresponded in the old French of the period. I have modernised the orthography only, as in some of my other quotations, so that my readers should have no difficulty in understanding this brave lady's full meaning.

This Sir John de Pelham was highly esteemed by Henry IV., who committed to his charge several royal and distinguished prisoners, amongst others Queen Joan, mother-in-law to the late King, who had plotted to dethrone him; likewise Edmund, Earl of March, and his brother, sons of Roger, Earl of March, who had been declared heir-apparent of the crown by the opposite party. Also Edward, Duke of York, had been in Sir John's custody at Pevensey Castle, and in his will mentions the great kindness he had received whilst there.

On the death of Henry IV. in 1413, Henry V. continued to protect and honour this worthy knight, and summoned him to attend the coronation as one of the Privy Councillors, and had robes of scarlet assigned to him from the royal wardrobe. This King, it is well known, elected men of the highest worth for his councillors; therefore it says much for Sir John that he was chosen as one of them.

Henry is said, every day after dinner, to have received for the space of an hour the petitions of the oppressed, and with much equity redressed their grievances. In this, Lower says, he was greatly assisted by Pelham. In the same year the King appointed him one of his ambassadors to treat with France for peace, and to conclude a marriage between him and the Princess Katherine, daughter of Charles VI. This was ultimately carried out, though postponed to 1420.

In his second year, the King placed under the guardianship and government of Sir John the youthful King

James I. of Scotland, with an allowance of £700 a year for all necessaries; and, to the honour of King Henry and Sir John de Pelham, James received an education suitable to his rank, for tutors were provided for him to instruct him in languages, science and music, and he was taught to ride and to handle every kind of weapon, in all which things the captive king became very proficient.*

So popular was this Sir John de Pelham, that it would take many pages to describe all the circumstances that made him so. I must, however, just quote Lower's summing up of his character:—

“In the seventh year of Henry VI. he departed this life, full of honour, after having served two of the greatest monarchs that ever occupied the English throne, and who had exalted the nation to so great a pitch of glory as was never before or since achieved by two successive governors of these realms. As to Sir John, which of his virtues ranks highest it would be difficult to determine: his fidelity to his sovereigns, his martial prowess, his skilful diplomacy, or his great public spirit and industry.” †

Certainly England never knew a more chivalrous or stainless character; and it must be owing, as Collins ‡ observes, to some uncommon instances of self-denial that he did not take rank among the Peers. In Lower's “*Historical Notices of the Pelham Family*” he gives an account of a seal that was attached to a charter as far back as 1415, which had upon it the arms and crest of the Pelham family, and on each side the buckle of a belt. Also he tells us of another charter, dated 4th September, 1431, granted by the Sir John Pelham of that time to Stephen Monckton, Prior of St. Trinity of Hastings, to which was appended “a fair seal of green wax with the arms: Quarterly 1st and 4th three pelicans; 2nd and 3rd Ermine,

* Holinshed's “*Chronicle*,” vol. i., page 256.

† “*Historical Notices of the Pelham Family*,” page 18.

‡ Collins's “*Peerage*,” vol. v., page 499.

on a Fess three crowns. Crest a cage on a Helmet, and on each side the Buckle of a Belt surrounded with the legend: SIGILLUM: JOHIS: PELHAM: MILITIS." The cage and buckles refer to taking King John of France prisoner. The following is a copy of that seal. The further history of the family is given on page 233.



III.

Dissolution of the Monasteries.



HENRY THE EIGHTH.

From a Painting by Holbein.

III.

Dissolution of the Monasteries.

IN the first chapter, as well as in the Appendix, I have given an outline of the early history of the Abbey; now I must relate how its dissolution came about, 245 years afterwards, when Lady Elizabeth Savage surrendered it to Henry VIII. There was no special reason for this surrender beyond the general one that he had obtained the consent of Parliament to suppress all the monasteries and religious houses throughout England. In order, therefore, that my readers may fully understand why this Abbey was dissolved, I will endeavour to give them some account of the extraordinary proceedings of the King and his Ministers. Doubtless Henry had many personal reasons, one of which would be the confiscation of valuable property for his own use and that of the State. Still, we must look at the matter impartially, and see whether there were not other motives for the passing of the two Acts of Parliament.

It must be remembered that this was not the first seizure of Church property; confiscations of various kinds had taken place during several previous reigns. King John, it is said, seized the Priories dependent on foreign houses, and applied their revenues to the relief of his own necessities. These, numbering eighty-one, were compelled to pay into the royal treasury the sums up to that time sent abroad. A more serious action, however, took place in 1294 by King Edward I., who had great difficulty in

finding money to defray the expenses of a war with France. Thereupon he personally demanded from the clergy half the income arising from both their lay fees and benefices. To this unheard-of exaction, after vigorous opposition, they submitted. Under Edward II. the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars took place, acting on a bull of Pope Clement V. Edward III. kept the foreign houses in his hands for twenty-three years. During this time he granted lay pensions, out of their revenues, to several of his nobles.* Richard II. appears to have retained in his hands the estates of these Alien Priors.† Henry IV. at first showed such Priors favour; for when advised by the Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1405, to replenish his exhausted exchequer by helping himself to the goods of Churchmen, he replied "that nothing should induce him to touch property which had been once devoted to the uses of the Church."‡

Henry, however, in 1408, by the advice of his council, took for his household expenses all the revenues of the Alien Priors, and the income of vacant bishoprics and Abbeys. But he would not listen to proposals that were made to plunder the other monasteries, although he was strongly urged to do so in a Bill that was introduced into Parliament in his eleventh year (1410), and in which it was stated that "the temporalities wasted by many of the churches might suffice to find the King fifteen earls, 15,000 knights, 6,200 esquires, and 100 houses of alms to the relief of poor people, and put yearly in his coffers £20,000."§ To this extraordinary proposal no definite answer was made by the King, and no further steps were taken during his reign.||

* Gasquet, "English Monasteries," page 46.

† Idem, page 48.

‡ Idem, page 51.

§ About £300,000 of our present money.

|| Gasquet, "English Monasteries," page 52.

Here, perhaps, I had better mention the origin of these Alien Priors. They were, first of all, the result of the Norman Conquest. The bishops and barons, who had obtained so much of the conquered land, were connected by blood and interest with the country from which they came. Many of them also were the descendants of the noble founders of the great foreign monasteries, and many were united to these by close personal ties. It was but natural, then, that these monasteries should share in the wealth which the fortune of war had bestowed upon their friends and patrons. When churches, manors, and tithes in England came thus into the possession of the Norman abbays abroad, they sent over monks to guard their rights and collect their revenues, who built convents on their lands, which were known as the Alien Priors.* Some of these Alien Priors, however, had been established in this way. When the kings of England, by conquest or inheritance, became possessed of extensive territories in France, many French monasteries were endowed with lands in England, upon which a priory was erected. Perhaps one of the richest was that built at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, by Yvo Taylboys, who gave it to the monks of Anjou, in France, valued at no less an income than £878 18s. 3d., perhaps about £13,000 of our money.

The final end came to this system of Alien Priors in 1414, the second year of the reign of Henry V., who, treading in the footsteps of his ancestor, Edward III., revived his claim to the French throne. To carry on this threatened war he obtained large grants from Parliament; and on the old pretext that money was being constantly drained out of England by the Alien Priors, dissolved them all, to the number of 140. He vested their estates in the Crown, except some lands which had been granted

* Gasquet, "English Monasteries."

to the college of Fotheringhay. Later on Henry applied for and obtained permission from Pope Martin V. to devote these revenues to other ecclesiastical purposes, and to endow other religious houses and colleges. It may be interesting to my readers to know that the New College, at Oxford, and the Winchester School, founded by William of Wykeham, had conferred on them by Henry the revenues of the Alien Priories of Takely, in Essex, of Hamell, in Hants, and that of Andover.*

In the next reign, of Henry VI., Archbishop Chicheley obtained from the King the possessions of no less than four Alien Priories for the endowment of All Souls', at Oxford. About the same time, also, the King endowed his royal foundations of Eton School and King's College, Cambridge, with lands of other dissolved alien monasteries. The dissolving of these Alien Priories produced a very dangerous impression in reference to all the rest, and doubtless was a precedent which Wolsey and Henry VIII. were only too ready to follow, of which I will now speak.

Wolsey commenced the confiscation in 1525, of which Hall, in his "*Chronicle*," the sixteenth of Henry VIII., gives this account:—

"This season the Cardinal, being in the King's favour, obtained license to make a college at Oxford,† and another at Ipswich, and because he would give no lands to the said colleges he obtained of the Bishop of Rome license to suppress and put down divers Abbeys, Priories, and Monasteries to the number of forty.‡ Wherefore he suddenly entered, by his Commissioners, into the said houses, turned out the Religious (*sic*) and took all their goods and moveables, and scarcely gave to the poor wretches anything, except it were to the heads of the houses. Then he caused the escheator to sit and find the houses void as relinquished; and that the King was founder, whereas other men were founders."

* Gasquet, "English Monasteries," page 57.

† This was first called "Cardinal College," and afterwards "Christ's College."

‡ Hall leaves this number blank, but Fuller gives it (page 624).



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

From a Painting by Holbein.

With these lands Wolsey endowed his colleges, which he opened in a most sumptuous manner, and the scholars were so proud that everybody thought that the end would not be good. Historians universally speak of this confiscation as a very wicked act on the part of Wolsey, and attributed to it, in great measure, his after downfall. It is also stated that the five men employed by him in this service came to grief. Two were slain in a duel, one was hanged, a third committed suicide by throwing himself into a well. A fourth, though formerly wealthy, grew so poor that he begged his bread. Whilst the fifth, Dr. Allen, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, was slain in Ireland.

Six years after that, the King singled out the Priory of Holy Trinity within Aldgate as a commencement of the wholesale dissolution, and this he doubtless intended as a test to see what the feelings of the people would be, and whether they would resent such a course or not. This priory has been constantly confounded with the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Minories, but it was quite a distinct place, and was founded by Matilda, generally called Queen Maud, wife of King Henry I., who dedicated it to the Holy Trinity, and appointed it for the residence of Black Canons or Canons regular. Dugdale* says she confirmed the church to be free, and acquitted from all subjection except the church of St. Paul and the Bishop of London, giving the canons the gate called Aldgate, with the soken thereunto belonging, which was of her own demesne, and two parts of the revenues or rents of the city of Exeter.

It seems soon to have become very popular, for Stow says the multitude of brethren praising God in this church in a short time so increased that all the city was delighted in beholding them, insomuch that, in 1125, certain burgesses

* Vol. vi., page 150.

of London gave to the church and canons the land and soken of Knighten Gilde, now Portsoken Ward, which had been created by King Edgar.* In consequence of this grant the priors became aldermen of the city of London, of Portsoken Ward, and sat and rode among the aldermen of the city in livery like them, saving that the habit was in the shape of that of a spiritual person. This privilege continued until the suppression by Henry VIII., and Stow relates that, when a child, he saw the prior amongst the aldermen, and adds that, at that time, "he kept a bountiful house of meat and drink both for rich and poor as well within the house as, at the gate, to all comers according to their estates."

This priory in process of time became so rich in lands and ornaments that it surpassed in wealth all the priories in London and Middlesex. In 1531 Henry VIII. sent for Nicholas Hancock, the then prior, and having commended him for his hospitality, went on to say that he was worthy of a greater dignity, which he promised to confer upon him. By this flattering promise Henry induced him and the canons to surrender the priory to his use. It is said that Henry kept his word and placed Hancock in a higher post, but Stevens says that he became vicar of Braughing, Herts, which is a very small place, the present nett income being only £190 per annum; but, of course, such a sum in Henry VIII.'s time would be worth ten times as much. George Grevil and seventeen more of those who signed the deed of surrender were sent to other houses of the same order.

On receiving this deed of surrender the King gave the priory, with the church, the plate, and the lands thereto belonging, to Sir Thomas Audley, the Speaker of the House of Commons. This seems to have been the first

* Stow's "Annales," ed. 1615, page 138.

church and monastery which was granted to a layman and his heirs. Audley had so little reverence for the sacred structure that he offered the church and steeple to anyone who would pull them down and cart off the materials at his own cost; but no one would accept the sacrilegious offer. He therefore pulled it down anyhow, a large number of the stones being broken to pieces as they were hurled to the ground. It is stated that he sold the bells to the parishes of Stepney and St. Stephen's, Coleman Street

On the resignation of Sir Thomas More, Audley was made Lord Chancellor and created Lord Audley of Walden; he dwelt in the priory until he died, April 30th, 1544. Audley's daughter and heir married the Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in Queen Elizabeth's reign, June 2nd, 1572, for his political intrigues with Mary Queen of Scots. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, eldest son of this marriage, having inherited the priory, sold it to the Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of London, the deed bearing date 21st July, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Elizabeth. The execution of the Duke of Norfolk whilst residing in the Priory of Holy Trinity Within, and the execution of the Duke of Suffolk during his occupancy of the Abbey of St. Clare, the chapel of which was afterwards called Holy Trinity, and also because this son of the Duke of Norfolk had the title of Earl of Suffolk, may have been amongst the causes which led to the extraordinary jumbling together of the historical facts connected with the two places as given in a number of the London journals.

I have just stated that this was the first religious house dissolved by Henry VIII., apparently by way of experiment; soon afterwards the crash came which involved them all in ruin. It had been reported to the King that many of the abbeyes and monasteries were sinks of iniquity,

and that within their walls not only the grossest licentiousness was practised, but crimes of the blackest dye were committed. Henry appointed commissioners to inquire into these abuses, who, on their return, stated that they had found the reports only too true, and mentioned 144 of the religious houses where the foulest immoralities and even horrible crimes were perpetrated.

Henry determined, therefore, first to suppress all the lesser monasteries, each of whose income did not exceed £200 a year (or about £2,000 of our money), and obtained an Act of Parliament in 1536 to do so.

All the historians of the time tell us that the report which the visitors made to the King was read in Parliament, which represented in so odious a light the manners of these houses that the Act was easily carried.

Fuller,* who wrote in 1655, gives the preamble to the Act, which I will quote in full:—

“Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeyes, Priories, and other religious houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses and their convents spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste as well their Churches, Monasteries, Priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches and their goods and chattels to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the King’s Highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof.

“And albeit that many continual visitations have been heretofore paid, during the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living; yet, nevertheless, little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove

* “Church History,” vol. iii., page 371.

abroad in apostasy than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion; so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to the great and honourable Monasteries of religion in this realm where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there can else be no redress nor reformation in that behalf.

“In consideration whereof the King’s most royal majesty, being supreme head on earth under God of the Church of England, daily finding and devising the increase, advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said Church to the only glory and honour of God, and the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well as by the compts of his late visitations as by sundry credible informations; considering also that divers and great solemn Monasteries of this realm, wherein—thanks be to God—religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep, hath thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords spiritual and temporal as to other his loving subjects the Commons in this present Parliament assembled.

“Whereupon the said Lords and Commons, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved, That it is and shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of such small religious houses, now being spent and spoiled and wasted for increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons so spending the same to be compelled to reform their lives; and thereupon most humbly desire the King’s Highness that it may be enacted by authority of this present Parliament that his Majesty shall have, to him and to his heirs for ever, all and singular, such Monasteries, etc., etc., etc.”

Fuller goes on to say that no fewer than 375 convents were dissolved at this time, and ten thousand persons sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world, most of whom were exposed to terrible want. Though it doubtless was, alas! too true that much wickedness was carried on in those monasteries, yet one cannot read the above preamble without feeling some disgust at the amount of cant and hypocrisy contained in it.

The income that was thus added to the Crown is

stated by a number of authorities to have been £30,000, or about £300,000 of our present money ; and the plate, jewels, and other movables were, perhaps, worth £100,000 more. I have shown that the income of the abbey of my church was £318 16s. 5d.—about £3,180 a year of our money—therefore it was not included in this first suppression ; but it was not long allowed to remain, for another visitation was appointed to inspect and report upon all the remaining monasteries and other religious houses in England, the principal members of which commission were Richard Layton, Thomas Leigh, and William Peters, doctors of law, with Doctor John London, Dean of Wallingford.

On their return, their report was similar to that of the former commissioners ; so that, even before the Act of Parliament was passed for the suppression of all religious houses, many of the abbots and priors surrendered. There were, however, some houses found to be of good repute, the inmates of which led godly and useful lives. The Priory of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, was one of these, and the prior was earnestly recommended by Latimer to Cromwell, Henry's then chief minister, with the hope that the house might stand ; but this intercession was unavailing, for the resolution had been taken to extirpate them all ; so that, even though the visitors interceded earnestly for one Nunnery at Godstow, Oxfordshire, where there was great strictness of life, and to which most of the young gentlewomen of the country were sent to be educated, and though the fathers of these ladies also entreated the King to spare the house, yet all was ineffectual.*

I said that Thomas Cromwell was his chief minister at this time, and I must here say something of this remarkable man, who took an active part in all that I am relating

* Burnet's "History of the Reformation," vol. i., page 310.



CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX,
From a Painting by Holbein.

in this chapter, and in the events to be spoken of in the next. He was of comparatively humble origin, being the son of a blacksmith and innkeeper. He rose, however, by his industry and ability to be a wealthy and important woolstapler, and was elected a Member of Parliament in 1523. There Wolsey noticed him, and he became the Lord Chancellor's chief agent in suppressing the smaller monasteries for the endowment of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, after which Wolsey made him his secretary. In this capacity he attracted the King's notice, who raised him from one high position to another in quick succession. First to that of a Privy Councillor, in 1531; next as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1533; then Secretary of State and Master of the Rolls, in 1534; afterwards Vicar-General in 1535, Lord Privy Seal and Baron Cromwell of Oakham in 1536, Knight of the Garter and Dean of Wells in 1537, Lord Great Chamberlain in 1539, and finally (17th April, 1540) Earl of Essex. Eight short weeks after receiving this last honour Henry had him arrested and thrown into the Tower for high treason, though the real cause was his having recommended the King to marry Anne of Cleves, towards whom Henry, on seeing her, conceived a great aversion. Condemned under a bill of attainder, his own favourite engine of tyranny, he was bunglingly beheaded on Tower Hill, and, according to the testimony of some historians, he died hated by all men.

As nothing whatever, that I can find, was said against the Abbey of St. Clare in the Minories, we may, I think, suppose that it was one of the well-conducted houses; and it is more than likely that Henry persuaded the abbess, Lady Elizabeth Savage, to resign, for she did so in 1538, a year before the Act was passed for the suppression of the larger monasteries, which took place in 1539 (31 Henry VIII., chap. 13). By this Act it was enacted that all monasteries

and religious houses that have been surrendered since the fourth of February, in the twenty-seventh year of his Majesty's reign, and which hereafter shall be surrendered, shall be vested in the King.

On the occasion of the first reading of this Bill eighteen abbots were present, at the second the same number, and sixteen at the third reading, none of whom seem to have dared to raise their voices against a measure that was to utterly disinherit them.* A hundred and eighty-six of these large houses were hereupon dissolved.

The next year another Act was passed (the 32 Henry VIII., chap. 24) for the suppression of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, forty-eight houses of which were dissolved. There was one other Act of spoliation, which was passed the year before Henry died, and which he did not live to see carried out; this was for dissolving all colleges, hospitals, chantries, and free chapels, but which, however, came into operation in the first year of Edward VI.

The sum total of the clear yearly rental of the several houses at the time of dissolution, exclusive of those just mentioned, seems from a number of authorities to be as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Yearly income of the greater monasteries	104,919	13	3½
Of all those of the lesser monasteries of which we have a valuation	29,702	1	10½
Knights Hospitallers' head house in London ...	2,385	12	8
We have only the valuation of twenty-eight of their country houses	3,026	9	5
Leaving nineteen more country houses belonging to the Knights Hospitallers as unaccounted for ...	—		
	<hr/> £140,034 17 3 <hr/>		

This amount of yearly revenue could not have been

* See note by Pocock in Burnet's "History of the Reformation," vol. i., page 417.

much less in value than a million and a half of our present money.

Wade,* writing about this great increase in the King's revenue, says :—

“It was the general opinion that Henry was the richest king in Europe ; but his wars revealed the inexplicable secret of his poverty. The vast treasures he collected from the religious houses, and the enormous sums he raised by the sale of their property, seemed to have been absorbed in some invisible abyss.”

A little further on he goes on to say :—

“It is estimated, on this confiscation, that one-fourth or one-fifth of the landed property of the kingdom changed hands. As soon as an Abbey was surrendered, the Commissioners broke its seal and assigned pensions to its members. The plate and jewels were reserved for the king, the furniture and goods were sold, and the money paid into the Augmentation Office.”

The abbot's lodgings and offices were left standing for any occupants the King might appoint. The roofs of churches, cloisters, and apartments for the monks were stripped of their lead and every saleable article, and then were left to fall into ruins.

The proceeds of this vast confiscation, in lieu of being applied to objects of public utility, became gradually the property of courtiers and others either by gift, sale, or exchange, which accounts for the number of the present lay rectors.

So far, then, ends this sad chapter. In the next we shall see what the Popes of Rome did in the matter.

* “ British History,” page 124.

II.

“Fidei Defensor.”



POPE LEO THE TENTH.
WITH THE CARDINALS JULIO DE MEDICI AND LUDVICO DE ROSSI.
From a Painting by Raphael,

II.

“Fidei Defensor.”

As I have related that many of the abbeys and monasteries were given away by Henry VIII. to his courtiers and others, I must now tell how it happened that our Abbey was given by the King to Dr. John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, for a London residence, and which gift was based on an Act of Parliament passed in 1539,* giving the King full power to bestow any of the dissolved monasteries upon whom he pleased. The deed granting the Abbey to the said Right Reverend Father in God and his successors states that he is—

“To have and to hold all the site, circuit, precinct, &c., of the said late monastery, with the uttermost walls and buildings thereupon, with the soil and ground whereon they stand, of our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, by fealty and a yearly rent, saving to all persons and bodies politic their heirs and successors, other than the King, all such rights, title, interest, leases for lives or years, which they or any of them might have unto the same,” &c.†

This Dr. John Clerk was a most remarkable man, as my readers will soon see; and yet, strange to say, he is seldom mentioned even by eminent historians, which is rather surprising, as he took a very prominent part in the matters which led to the Pope's bestowment upon Henry VIII. of the title which heads this chapter, and of which full particulars will presently be given. I find his

* 31st Henry VIII. cap. 13.

† See Dr. Fly's paper in *Archæologia*, 1803.

name spelt three different ways, viz. Clerk, Clark, and Clerke.* The first, I presume, is the correct way, for it is so written in the Pope's bull and in the list of bishops of that see. He obtained his B.A. at Cambridge in 1499, and three years afterwards his M.A. From Cambridge he went to Bologna, in Italy, and studied law, obtaining the title of LL.D.

On his return to England he was instituted to the rectory of Hothfield, in Kent, 21st April, 1508; and the next year was appointed master of the hospital of St. Mary, or the *Maison Dieu*, at Dover. In 1513 he was presented to the rectory of Portishead, Somerset, and at the same time held the living of Ditcheat, in the same county. In the following year he was instituted to the living of Ivychurch, Kent, and a few months afterwards to the rectory of West Tarring, in Sussex, and the rectory of Charlton. From a record of his resigning the living of Ditcheat, in 1517, it would seem pretty certain that he held all of these livings at the same time, and therefore must have been a pluralist indeed. At this time, Wolsey, noticing his great abilities, made him his private chaplain, and during the years 1517 and 1518 employed him to transact confidential business with the King.

In March, 1519, he was presented to the living of South Molton, in Devonshire; and in June of the same year was sent by the King with a message to Louise of Savoy. Clerk evidently acquitted himself well when on this mission, for we find him in October called to the archdeaconry of Colchester. In November, probably through the interest of his powerful patron Wolsey, he was appointed Dean of Windsor, and shortly afterwards was made a judge of the Court of the Star Chamber. In the spring of 1521 he was sent as ambassador to Rome.

* In those days names were often spelt phonetically.

Whilst there his great learning gained for him the good opinion of the Pope and cardinals; but what brought him into most note was his extraordinary oration when, in 1521, he presented to Pope Leo X. the work that the King had written against Luther, entitled "*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*." This book, under the instructions of Wolsey, was written in a fair and beautiful character, and so splendidly bound that it was afterwards laid up in the Vatican as a literary treasure. It was also printed in England for the King by Pynson, several copies of which are in the British Museum library, which are beautiful specimens of the art of printing in those days, and are in an excellent state of preservation. Some of them contain Dr. Clerk's oration, the Pope's answer to him, and the bull conferring upon Henry the title of FIDEI DEFENSOR, besides another bull of Indulgences that would be granted to those who read the King's book, all of which are in Latin.

The King had completed the book on the 25th August, 1521, upon which Wolsey wrote to Clerk, the ambassador at Rome, with directions how it was to be presented to the Pope, according to which instructions Clerk was to deliver privately to his Holiness the copy bound with cloth of gold and subscribed with the King's own hand; and if the Pope approved of the work on its perusal, he was to request that permission might be given him to present it publicly in a full Consistory, and there to receive the papal sanction. With this dispatch Clerk received twenty-eight copies, and one of them, as mentioned above, gorgeously bound, in which the King had written the two following verses, which are given in Roscoe's "*Life of Leo X.*":—

"Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et Amicitiae." *

* "O, Leo the Tenth, Henry, King of the English, sends this work, as evidence of his fidelity and friendship."

The Pope gave the ambassador an audience, a full description of which Clerk wrote to Wolsey, and of which we have the original manuscript in the British Museum. In it there occurs this passage :—

“His Holiness beholding the trim decking of the said books (which he seemed to like very well), opened the book covered with the cloth of gold, and, beginning the proem, read thereof successively five leaves without interruption ; and as I suppose, if time and place and other of no small important business had not let him, he would never have ceased till he had read it over. His Holiness, in reading at such place as he liked (and that seemed at every second line) made ever some demonstration *vel nutu vel verbo*, whereby it appeared he had great pleasure in reading. And when his Holiness had read a great season, I assure your Grace he gave the book a great commendation, and said there was therein much wit and clerkly conveyance, and how that there were many great clerks that had written in the matter, but this book would seem to pass all theirs. His Holiness said that he would not have thought that such a book should have come from the King's Grace, who hath been occupied necessarily in other feats, seeing that other men which have occupied themselves in study all their lives cannot bring forth the like.”

Upon this Clerk called the Pope's attention to the verses written by the King in his honour, and then he says :—

“Because the King's Grace had written the said verses with a very small pen, and because I knew the Pope to be of very dull sight, I would have read them to his Holiness, but he took the book from me and read the said verses three times, very promptly, to my great marvel, and commended them singularly.”*

Then Clerk told the Pope that he had several other copies, to which Leo replied that he should like five or six

* The original letter written by Clerk to Wolsey, relating to the above, will be found in the manuscript department of the British Museum, under the index Cotton MSS. Vit. B. iv., page 165. And Wolsey's instructions, written with his own hand, Cotton MSS. Vit. B. iv., page 145. Also in original letters by Sir Henry Ellis, third series, vol. i., page 256.

more, to deliver them to the Cardinals. On the following day the Pope told Clerk that he had almost read the King's book through, and commended it so highly that on writing to Wolsey he says: "He likes it and commends it *supra sidera*, and so do as many as have read it."

Brewer says:—

"What opinions might have been expressed by other members of the Sacred College we have no means of ascertaining, but Campeggio, in his letter to Wolsey, is unable to restrain the transports into which he was thrown by a perusal of the King's 'aureus libellus.' Nothing, he assured Wolsey, could be better expressed or better argued; the King was inspired more by an angelic than a human spirit."

This letter will be found in the Rolls Office Reports.* Leo was a very sagacious man, and Brewer also says that the Pope was apprehensive of carrying the farce too far, or dreaded some disturbance if too much notoriety were to be given to this affair. So that he declined Clerk's urgent request for a public consistory, for he said—

"If a public consistory were summoned, besides the clergy a great crowd of laymen would be present; and whereas Lutheranism has been silenced for a time, and the minds of men are quieted, this act would put them in remembrance and renew the old sore."

It was urged by Clerk that if any such there were, they would be brought to reason by the gravity of the act and the conclusive articles in the King's book. But the Pope remained inflexible. He was, in fact, bent upon getting through this business with as little notoriety as he conveniently could without giving offence to anyone.

On the Wednesday, 2nd October, 1521, Clerk, according to appointment, attended at the palace, where consistories

* "Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.," vol. 3, page ccccxii., and No. 1582, page 660.

were accustomed to be held, and what followed he relates in a most quaint and amusing letter to Wolsey, dated 10th October, 1521,* in which he says:—

“His Holiness after a while went into the place where consistories were accustomed to be held, and within a little while called in such prelates as were tarrying without, to the number of twenty. And immediately after the Master of the Ceremonies came unto me and informed me somewhat of the ceremonies, and, amongst others, that I should kneel upon my knees all the time of my oration. Whereat I was somewhat abashed, for methought I should not have my heart or my spirits so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneeling as they would standing. Howbeit there was no remedy, and needs I must do as the Master of the Ceremonies did tell me. And so, following him, I entered the place of the . . . where the Pope’s Holiness sate in his majesty upon a . . . of three steps from the ground, underneath a cloth of. . . . Afore him, in a large quadrant upon stools sate the . . . in their consistorial habits, to the number of twenty.”

He was then presented by the Master of the Ceremonies, and after three obeisances the Pope allowed him to kiss his foot; but as he attempted to rise, Clerk goes on to say, “His Holiness took me by the shoulders and caused me to kiss first the one cheek and then the other.” Then returning to the stool which had been placed for him, Clerk pronounced his oration upon his knees. I am sure my readers will feel, with me, that it is a matter of very great interest that this oration has come down to us intact, for it gives us an insight into the feelings of the Papists of that day in reference to Luther’s doctrines. I have therefore given the greater part of it in the following pages, leaving out only those sentences that seem to me of less importance. The original, as I have said, is in Latin; but I will give a translation from an old work before me by T. W. Gent, printed in 1688. I have not retained Mr. Gent’s spelling and antiquated use of capitals,

* MS. Vit. B. iv., page 185; Ellis, vol. i., page 262.

lest they should confuse my readers; and also, where it has appeared desirable, I have made one or two alterations in his translation, which seem to me to be a better rendering of the original text, and, have modernised the orthography :—

“THE ORATION OF
JOHN CLERK ORATOR FOR
HENRY THE EIGHTH
THE MOST POTENT KING OF
ENGLAND AND FRANCE
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH
ON THE EXHIBITION OF HIS ROYAL BOOK
IN THE CONSISTORY BEFORE
POPE LEO X.

“MOST HOLY FATHER,

“What great troubles have been stirred up by the pernicious opinions of Martin Luther, which of late years first sprung up out of the lurking holes of the Hussitarian heresy in the school of Wittenberg, in Germany, from thence spreading themselves over most parts of the Christian world. How many unthinking souls they have deceived and how many admirers and adherents they have met with I care not for relating. . . . Truly though many of Luther's works are most impiously by his pamphlets spread abroad in the world, yet none of them seem more execrable, more venomous and more pernicious to mankind than that entitled ‘*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*,’ in refuting which many grave and learned men have diligently laboured.

“My most Serene and Invincible Prince, Henry VIII., King of England and France, and most affectionate son of your Holiness and of the sacred Roman Church, has written a book against this work of Luther's, which he has dedicated to your Holiness, and has commanded me to offer and deliver the same which I here present. But before you receive it, Most Holy Father, may it please you that I speak somewhat of the devotion and veneration of my king towards your Holiness and this most Holy See, as also of the other reasons which moved him to publish this work. Nor is it amiss to take notice in this place of this horrid and furious monster, as also of his stings and poisons whereby he intends to affect the human race, and to delineate him before your Holiness in his own proper colours; that the more formidable the enemy is, and the greater the danger that is threatened from it, the more glorious may the triumph appear when the enemy is overcome and this danger removed. But O Immortal

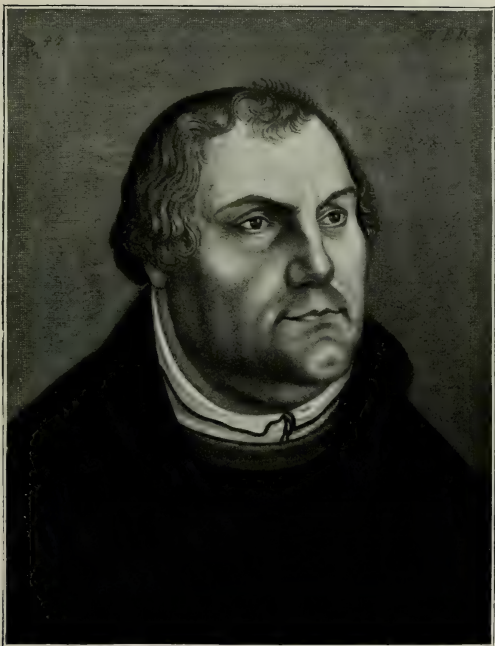
God ! what bitter language ! What so earnest and inflam'd form of speech can be invented sufficient to declare the crimes of that most filthy villain who has undertaken to cut in pieces the seamless coat of Christ and to disturb the quiet state of the Church of God ? When, like an egregious esteemer of things, he attributes to your Holiness no more power in the Church of God than to any of the least priests amongst the people, but most unseasonably condemns the behaviour of all the ministers in the Church ; calls Rome a sinner, wretched, an adulteress, and, lastly, Babylon itself.

“ He accuses you, the vicar of Christ on earth, of heresy. And as often as there is a question relative to the explication of the Christian faith, he makes himself (thrice apostate) equal in authority to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. And that he may the better demonstrate himself as great an enemy to religion as to manners, his most impure hands have burnt the decrees and most holy statutes of the Fathers, in which were contained the true discipline of a good life. And as one most audacious, leaving nothing unattempted, he at last publishes this book of the Babylonian Captivity. In which, good God ! what and how prodigious are the things ? How much poison ? What infection and deadly venom has this malignant serpent spread out, not only against the wicked manners of our age, which in some manner might have been borne with ; not only against your Holiness, but also against your office, against ecclesiastical hierarchy, against this See, and against this rock established by God Himself.

“ Finally against the whole body of the Church of God. Here the bond of chastity is broken, holy fasts, religious vows, rites, ceremonies, the worship of God, solemnity at Mass, etc., are abolished and exterminated by the strangest perfidiousness that ever was heard of. This man institutes sacraments after his own fancy, reducing them to three, to two, to one—and that one he handles so pitifully that he seems to be about reducing it to nothing at all. O height of impiety ! O most abominable and most execrable villainy of man ! What intolerable blasphemies, from a heap of calumnies and lies, without any law, method or order does he utter against God and His servants in this book ! ”

Two pages more of equally strong invectives follow ; then Clerk speaks of the feeling in England against Luther and his works in these words :—

“ Let others speak of other nations, certainly my Britainy (called England by our modern cosmographers), situated in the furthestmost



MARTIN LUTHER

From a Painting by Cranach.

end of the world, and separated from the continent by the ocean, as it has never been behind in the worship of God and true Christian faith and due obedience to the Roman Church, either to Spain, France, Germany, or Italy—nay, to Rome itself—so, likewise, there is no nation which more impugns this monster and the heresies broached by him, and which more condemns and detests them. In which most illustrious praise I can prefer none to him of whom I have spoken—King Henry, the most devoted son of your Holiness, who, as soon as he understood that the dignity of that government illustrated by your integrity and virtue, and enlarged by your great actions, was, together with the universal Church, so bitterly inveighed against by this son of perdition: not only undertook this pious work himself whereby he has learnedly confuted the errors of this impious man, but, likewise, the most learned clergy of this realm have, to the utmost of their powers, endeavoured, with all diligence, to remove from the hearts of the people all doubts, fears, and scruples that might otherwise happen to possess or trouble the weaker sort.”

Then he goes on to relate the reasons the King had for writing the book, which I will presently give in Henry's own words, but I must quote the following words:—

“Nor do I see in what else he could with more glory and applause have employed this, his treasure of knowledge and talent, doubtless given Him by God Himself for this very end. But yet the pious Prince himself does modestly acknowledge in his preface how little he attributes to the force of his own wit which is so much esteemed by others. For excusing his insufficiency of learning in that preface, he arrogates no more to himself than to confess that his task might have been much better performed by others, and that he himself (much unfit, confiding only in the assistance of the Divine goodness) had, through the instigation of piety and grief of seeing religion so much abused, attempted to discover by reason the Lutheran Heresies. Not that he thought it honourable to contend with Luther, who is so much despised, hissed at, and cried down over the whole world, but that, amongst other things, he might testify to the world what his opinion was of this prodigious monster and his followers, thinking himself concerned to publish this in writing; not so much lest scruples of conscience should follow his silence, as by his example to induce others to the like undertakings who have received a richer gift of science from the Giver of light. I confess that what the goodly Prince has written against the errors of Luther

might compel Luther himself, if he had the least spark of Christian piety in him, to recant his heresies and recall again the straying and almost forlorn flock not only from errors but from Hell itself, whither it miserably runs headlong."

There is another passage in Clerk's oration, showing that the King did not expect that his book would convert Luther, which is interesting because it manifests most clearly that Henry did not in his heart consider Luther a mean antagonist:—

"The change of his mind and altering of his councils for the better must be a great miracle of Almighty God, for what learned men have written against him as yet does only irritate him to grow every day worse and worse. Truly my most serene King is so far from expecting any good from this idle and vain phantom, that he rather thinks this raging and mad dog is not to be dealt with by words, there being no hopes of his conversion, but rather he is not otherwise to be dealt with than with drawn swords, cannons,* and other habiliments of war, such as he would use against the Turks themselves if time permitted."

I fear I must not take any more room in further quotations from this extraordinary oration, but will just add a few lines of Clerk's peroration:—

"May therefore your Holiness take in good part and graciously accept this little book sent to thyself, and dedicated with a grateful mind, to your examination, in which the pious, and your most devoted Prince, has, with all his power, endeavoured to procure in some manner that weaker understandings should not be drawn out of the way by the most wicked works of this perverse man; and hopes so to have acquitted himself, as at least he may appear to have demonstrated his veneration towards the Christian religion and towards your Holiness.

"DIXI."

The Pope answered him extempore in Latin, the substance of the speech being given in the book to which I

* The words used by Clerk, translated by Gent "cannons," are "*de tormentis illis fulminibus*," literally "with engines hurling thunderbolts." This was rather clever of Clerk, as there was no Latin word for "cannon."

have referred in Show-case XIII., of which this is a translation :—

“We receive this book with great joy ; truly it is such as nothing could have been sent more acceptable to us and our venerable brethren. But, indeed, we know not whether more to praise or to admire that most prudent and truly Christian king, who with his sword has totally subdued the enemies of Christ's Church, that (like the heads of the Hydra, often cut off, and forthwith growing up again), has so often endeavoured to tear in pieces the seamless coat of Christ, and, at length, the enemies being vanquished, has settled in peace the Church of God and this Holy See. And now, having the knowledge, will, and ability of composing this book against this terrible monster, has rendered himself no less admirable to the whole by the eloquence of his style than by his great wisdom.

“We render immortal thanks to our Creator, who has raised up such a prince to defend His Church and this Holy See ; most humbly beseeching Him bountifully to bestow on this great prince a most happy life and all other good things that he can wish for ; and after life to crown him in His Celestial Kingdom with a crown of eternal glory. We, to our power, by God's assistance, shall not be wanting in the performance of anything that may lead to the honour and dignity of his majesty and his kingdom's glory.”

With regard to this work Henry has displayed some skill in dealing with the seven sacraments of the Church of Rome, and has shown an amount of knowledge of the Old and New Testaments that few would give him credit for possessing ; also he shows himself to have been a good Latin scholar, otherwise he could not have written with such accuracy this polemical book. At first I thought that he might have written it in English and that Wolsey afterwards translated it into Latin, but I find the general opinion is that Henry wrote it himself. In reference to this we must remember that the pious and learned Bishop Fisher was Henry's tutor. Of course, it is well known that I utterly disagree with his reasoning and consider his deductions based upon wrong premises ; still it must be acknowledged to be a cleverly written work.

Mr. James Gairdner in the "*Dictionary of National Biography*" says that Henry

"From his earliest boyhood was carefully educated. Erasmus, who visited the royal household when Henry was only nine (or, more probably, only eight) years old, was struck even then with the precocity of his intellect, which was combined with a highly polished manner. Boy as he was, he wrote during dinner a note to the great scholar requesting to be favoured with some production of his pen, which Erasmus gave him three days after in the form of a Latin poem "

Gairdner also says:—

"As an author Henry was by no means contemptible. His book against Luther (*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, published in 1521) was a scholastic performance of a rather conventional type ; but it was the coinage of his own brain, and he had discussed its arguments in the progress of the work both with Wolsey and with More. It seemed, moreover, to Luther himself of sufficient weight to draw from him a somewhat contemptuous rejoinder. Of course, in the composition of such a treatise Henry could easily command the aid of the best scholarship of the day, at all events to improve the style. To what extent he was thus aided we cannot tell, but we have the testimony of Erasmus to his own facility in Latin composition, and it is quite certain that in the numerous letters, manifestoes, and treatises, both Latin and English, put forth in his name during his reign his own hand is very often traceable. His skill in theological subtleties, no less than in threading the mazes of diplomacy, enabled him to take up a position that could not be successfully challenged, and secure himself alike against Popes, Emperors, and Kings in the midst of a dangerous revolution stirred mainly by himself."

Mr. Charles H. Athill, *Richmond Herald*, says that he always understood that Henry in his early years was being educated for the Church. The death of his elder brother Arthur in 1502 made him next heir to the throne, and so the idea was put aside. This may account for his knowledge of Latin.

Knowing how many thousands there are who have not the time nor opportunities for reading the books in our

great National Library, I will give almost in full a translation of Henry's opening address to the Pope and a few quotations from his peroration :—

“TO OUR MOST HOLY LORD
LEO X.
CHIEF BISHOP,
HENRY
BY THE GRACE OF GOD
KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE
AND
LORD OF IRELAND
WISHETH PERPETUAL HAPPINESS.

“MOST HOLY FATHER—

“Perhaps it may appear strange to your Holiness that, part of our youth having been spent in martial affairs and part in things belonging to the Commonwealth, we should now undertake the task of a man that had employed all his time in study in order that we may repress this growing and serious heresy. But your Holiness will, I think, cease to be surprised when you consider the reasons that obliged us to take upon us the charge of writing, although we are not ignorant of our insufficiency. We have seen tares cast into our Lord's harvest, sects spring up, and heresies increase so as almost to overthrow the faith of Christ, and such seeds are sown abroad in the world that no sincere Christian can suffer or endure any longer their spreading mischiefs without an obligation of employing all his studies and forces to oppose them.

“Your Holiness ought not therefore to wonder if we, not the greatest in ability, yet in faith and good will inferior to none, have proposed to our self to employ our force and power in a work so necessary and so profitable that it cannot lightly be omitted by any without sinfulness. Also we have determined to declare our great respect towards your Holiness, our desire for the religion of Christ, and our obedience to the service of Almighty God. Sincerely trusting that, though our learning is but little, nay, next to nothing, yet God's grace will so co-operate with us that what we are not able thereby to effect, He, by His benignity and power, may more fully perform, and by His strength supply our weakness therein. Though we know very well that there are everywhere many more expert, especially in Holy Writ, who could more advantageously have accomplished this great work and performed it much better than we, yet we are not altogether so uninformed as not to esteem it our

duty to employ with all our might our wit and pen in the common cause. For, having by long experience found that religion bears the greatest sway in administration of public affairs, and is likewise of no small importance in the Commonwealth,

“We have employed no little time, especially since we came to years of discretion, in the contemplation thereof, wherein we have always taken great delight; and, though not ignorant of our small progress therein made, yet at least it is so much as we hope, especially with the help, or rather instigation, of such things as can instruct the most ignorant, viz. piety and the grief of seeing religion abused, will suffice for reasons to discover the subtleties of Luther’s heresy—we have therefore, confiding in those things, entered upon this work to your Holiness what we have meditated therein, that, under your protection, who are Christ’s Vicar upon Earth, it may pass the public censure. For we are persuaded that this heresy, having for some time exercised its rage among Christians, and being by your most weighty and wholesome sentence condemned, and as it were by force pluck’d out of men’s hands, if anything remains hidden in the bowels of it, fed by flattery and fair promises, ’tis to be rooted out by just reasons and arguments that, as men’s wits suffer themselves more willingly to be led than driven, so reason also may supply these with the mildest remedies.

“Whether or no anything is effectually done in this shall rest to your Holiness’s judgment. If we have err’d in anything, we offer it to be corrected as may please your Holiness.”

In this dedication there is a tone of modesty and even of piety that we do not generally attribute to Henry, and perhaps some will say that it was a piece of hypocrisy; for a man who could commit such acts of cruelty and injustice could not have any real piety in his heart. Of this God must be the judge, for He alone, and not we, can fathom the motives that prompted this remarkable man to do things that even now call forth a shudder.

It would be difficult to pick out any portions from his book for quotation, because a sentence or two could not give my readers a right conception of the line of argument pursued by Henry in defence of the seven sacraments. Such quotations would also require that I should show how greatly I differ from him upon all his points, and

which would not comport with the object of this work ; but, having given his dedication, I will add a few sentences of his peroration. When speaking of Luther, he says in conclusion :—

“Like the old serpent, he begins to spread abroad the snares of infidelity that, by tasting of the forbidden fruit of hurtful knowledge, he might procure their expulsion out of the Paradise of the Church, from which he had fallen himself into a land of thorns and thistles. I am indeed heartily sorry for his so great madness and miserable fall, and I hope that as yet by the inspiration of God’s grace he may repent, be converted, and live. Nor do I so much desire this for his sake alone (though for him also, as wishing the salvation of every man possible) as that he, being at last converted and, like the Prodigal Son returning to the mercy of so bountiful a Father and confessing his error, may recall again into the right way those whom he has misled.

“But now, since he has so deeply plung’d himself into that pit of wickedness, and despair has gorged him into its mouth, he rails, he blasphemes, he slanders, he rages, and he who is filthy becomes more filthy still.

“But I beseech all the rest of Christians and beg of them through the bowels of Christ, whose faith we profess, to shut their ears against impious words, and not to entertain schisms or discords amongst them, especially at this time, when all Christians ought however to agree together against the enemies of Christ.

“Also let them not give ear to opprobrious detractions against the Vicar of Christ thrown upon him by this wicked brother. Neither let them contaminate their hearts, consecrated to Christ, with impious heresies, sown by him who is void of charity, swelled with pride, in reason cold, but hot in envy.

“Finally, let them stand up against this puny brother, weak in power, but in mind more pernicious than either Turk, Saracen, or Infidel. Let them, I say, resist him with the same mind and resolution that they would the Turks, Saracens, and worst of Infidels.’

I will now pass on to give some quotations from the Pope’s bull sent to Henry, and which is an extension of his reply to Dr. Clerk’s oration, and in which bull also he confers upon Henry the title of “Defender of the Faith.”

“LEO, BISHOP

AND SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, TO OUR MOST
DEAR SON IN CHRIST, HENRY, THE ILLUSTRIOUS KING OF
ENGLAND, AND DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, SENDS GREETING
AND GIVES HIS BENEDICTION.

“By the good pleasure and will of Almighty God presiding in the government of the Universal Church, though unworthy of so great a charge, we daily employ all our thoughts, both at home and abroad, for the continual propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith without which none can be saved. And that the methods which are taken for repressing of such as labour to overthrow the Church or pervert and stain her by wicked glosses and malicious lies may be carried on with continual profit, as ordered by the sound doctrine of the faithful, and especially of such as shine in regal dignity, we employ with all our power our endeavours and the parts of our ministry. And as other Roman Bishops, our predecessors, have been accustomed to bestow some particular favours upon Catholic Princes (as the exigencies of affairs and times required), especially on those who in tempestuous times and whilst the rapid perfidiousness of schismatics and heretics raged : not only persevered constantly in the true faith and unspotted devotion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, but also, as the legitimate sons and stoutest champions of the same, have opposed themselves both spiritually and temporally against the mad fury of schismatics and heretics.

“So also we, for your Majesty's most excellent works and worthy actions done for us and this Holy See in which by Divine permission we preside: Do desire to confer upon your majesty, with honours and immortal praises : That which may enable you and engage you carefully to drive away from our Lord's flock the wolves, and cut off with the material sword the rotten members that infect the mystical body of Jesus Christ, and confirm the hearts of the almost discomforted faithful in the solidity of Faith.”

“Truly when our beloved son, John Clerk, your majesty's orator, did lately in our Consistory, in presence of our venerable brethren, Cardinals of the sacred Roman Church, and divers other Holy Prelates, present unto us a book which your majesty, moved by your charity, which effects everything readily and well, and enflamed with zeal to the Holy Catholic faith, and fervour of devotion towards us and this Holy See, did compose as a most noble and wholesome antidote against errors of divers heretics often condemned by this Holy See, and now again revived by Martin Luther. When, I say, he offered this book to us to be examined and approved by our authority, and also declared in a very eloquent discourse : That as

your majesty had for true reasons and the undeniable authority of Scripture and the Holy Fathers confuted the notorious errors of Luther ; so you are likewise ready and resolved to prosecute with all the forces of your kingdom those who shall presume to follow or defend them.

"Having found in this book most admirable doctrine sprinkled with the dew of Divine Grace, we rendered infinite thanks to Almighty God, from whom every good thing and every perfect gift proceeds, for being pleased to fill with His grace and to inspire your most excellent mind, inclined to all good, to defend by your writings His Holy Faith against the new broachers of these condemned errors, and to invite all other Christians by your example to assist and favour with all their power the orthodox faith and evangelical truth now under so great peril and danger.

"Considering that it is but just that those who have undertaken pious labours in defence of the faith of Christ should be extoll'd with all praise and honour, and being willing not only to magnify with condign praise and approve with our authority what your Majesty has with great learning and eloquence writ against Luther ; but also to honour your Majesty with such a title as shall give all Christians to understand, as well in our Times as in succeeding ages, how acceptable and welcome your gift was to us, especially in this juncture of time. We, the True successor of St. Peter, whom Christ before His ascension left as Vicar upon Earth and to whom He committed the care of his flock, presiding in this Holy See, from whence all dignity and titles have their source, having with our brethren materially deliberated on these things, and with one consent unanimously decreed to bestow on your Majesty this title, viz.

‘FIDEI DEFENSOR.’

And we have by this title honoured you. We likewise command all Christians that they name your Majesty by this title, and in their writings to your Majesty that immediately after the word king they add ‘Fidei Defensor.’

"Having thus weigh'd and diligently considered your singular merits, we could not have invented a more congruous name nor more worthy your Majesty than this worthy and most excellent title, which as often as you hear or read you shall remember your own merits and virtues. Nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble in the faith of Christ, and more strong and constant in your devotion to this Holy See by which you were exalted ; and you shall rejoice in our Lord, Who

is the Giver of all good things, for leaving such a perpetual and everlasting monument of your glory to posterity, and showing the way to others that, if they also covet to be invested with such a title, they may study to do such actions and to follow the steps of your most excellent Majesty, whom, with your wife, children, and all who shall spring from you, we bless with a bountiful and liberal hand in the name of Him from Whom the power of benediction is given to us, and by Whom kings reign and princes govern and in Whose hands are the hearts of kings.

“Praying and beseeching the Most High to confirm your Majesty in your holy purposes and to augment your devotion, and for your most excellent deeds done in defence of His holy faith to render your Majesty so illustrious and famous to the whole world as that our judgment in adorning you with so remarkable a title may not be thought vain or light by any person whatsoever. And, finally, after you have finished your course in this life, that He may make you partaker of His eternal glory.

“It shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever to infringe or by any rash presumption to act contrary to this letter of our subscribing and command. But if anyone shall presume to make such attempt, let him know that he shall therefore incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

“Given at St. Peter’s in Rome the Fifth of the Ides of October, in the year of our Lord’s Incarnation 1521, and in the ninth year of our papacy.”

In order to make our story complete in reference to this title of Defender of the Faith, I must now relate some of the circumstances which led to its being cancelled. It is so well known that when Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn he most cruelly and wickedly endeavoured to obtain a divorce from his faithful and excellent wife Catherine. With the exception of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, all, or very nearly all, the bishops sided with the King and declared the marriage illegal, and Archbishop Cranmer pronounced this judgment :

“That the marriage between the King and Catherine was null and invalid, having been contracted and consummated in defiance of the Divine prohibition, and therefore without force or effect from the very beginning.”

An appeal was made to the Court of Rome, and, after a long negotiation, Pope Clement VII., at the earnest solicitation of Catherine and her friends, held a consistory, when, out of twenty-two Cardinals present, nineteen decided for the validity of the marriage. Clement had not expected this result, but he acceded, though with reluctance, to the opinion of so numerous a majority, and a definite sentence was pronounced declaring the marriage of Henry with Catherine lawful and valid, and condemning the proceedings against her as unjust; also ordering the King to take her back as his legitimate wife. In case of the King's refusal, he was informed that he would be excommunicated from the fellowship of the Church and would forfeit the allegiance of his subjects. Lest it should be surmised that these censures were not intended to be taken in earnest, engagements were entered into, that within four months of the promulgation of the sentence, the Emperor should invade England and Henry should be deposed.

The imperialists illuminated Rome, cannons were fired, bonfires blazed, and great bodies of men paraded the streets with shouts of "The Empire and Spain." Already in their minds England was a second Netherlands, a captured province under the regency of Catherine and Mary.* This was on the 23rd March, 1534.

Meanwhile in England some very important events were taking place. On the 15th January of the same year Parliament had met and arranged a new scheme for the appointment of Bishops without reference to the Holy See, together with a new system of ecclesiastical appeals which were to be heard in the last instance by the Court of Chancery or commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. Other Acts followed for the abolition of all imposts levied

* Froude's "*Hist. Eng.*" vol. ii., page 229.

by the see of Rome and for the complete abrogation of the Pope's authority in England. The imposts were also called annates, and they went by the various names of pensions, Peter's pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provision, delegacies and rescripts in causes of contention and appeals, jurisdictions legatine; also dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called "*perinde valere*," rehabilitations, abolitions, with other infinite sorts of rules, briefs and instruments of sundry natures, names, and kinds. "All these," says Froude, "were presumably open sluices which had drained England of its wealth for centuries, whilst it received only in return showers of paper."

All this, the Commons were determined should be put an end to, and that streams so unremunerative should flow no longer out of the kingdom; but they expressly declared that they were not separating from the Church of Christ but only from the Papacy. It must be particularly noted, however, that all this happened before the decision against Henry in reference to Catherine by the Pope and Cardinals was known in England, and, therefore, was not done in consequence of that adverse judgment.

After this the Parliament passed a Bill of Attainder against certain persons who had been accused of high treason in connexion with the Nun of Kent, and the names of Sir Thomas More, the late Lord Chancellor, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were on the list. They were both told, however, that if they would ask forgiveness of the King they would receive it. More did so in a most graceful manner, and his name was struck off the list; but Fisher adopted a different tone altogether, and refused to ask forgiveness for an offence he had not committed. His name was therefore retained, and he was attainted with the others, but was afterwards really forgiven, for he was allowed to compound with the Crown for his freedom and



SIR THOMAS MORE.

From a Painting by Holbein.

personalities in the sum of three hundred pounds. This was on March 30th, 1534.

By an Act, 26 Henry VIII. c. 1., the King was declared "Supreme Head of the Church," with the style and title thereof. By the same Act, chap. 13, it was made high treason to attempt by words or writing to deprive him of the dignity, style, or name of his royal estate. This Act we have in the British Museum as it was printed in London in 1551, and by rather a strange coincidence became law on the day that the Pope's judgment arrived in England. Convocation was, indeed, still sitting, and hurried through a declaration that the Pope had no more power in England than any other bishop.

Under this Statute a Commission was ordered to be appointed to receive the oaths of allegiance; and all the King's subjects of full age, or who should hereafter become of full age, were commanded to swear obedience to the said Act under the penalty of misprision of treason. A Commission was accordingly appointed and sat at the palace at Lambeth, of which Commission Cromwell was President, and all seemed to go well, for peers, bishops, abbots, priors, and heads of colleges took the oath of allegiance and obedience to the King as supreme head of the Church. The whole nation seemed to unite in a unanimous declaration of freedom.

Neither Sir Thomas More nor the Bishop of Rochester could expect that their recent conduct would exempt them from an obligation which people generally adopted with good will. They had got mixed up, perhaps unintentionally, with a body of confessed traitors, but had been treated leniently; therefore they were called upon to give proofs of their loyalty, and were summoned to Lambeth by the Commissioners appointed to administer the oath of supremacy. More left his house at Chelsea and entered

his boat feeling sure that he never would return to that house alive. When he reached Lambeth Palace he found Bishop Fisher there and the place crowded with ecclesiastics. Sir Thomas, being the only layman, was introduced first.

The Commissioners were Cranmer, Audley (the Lord Chancellor), Cromwell, and Benson (Abbot of Westminster). The Chancellor read the form to him, which stated in the preamble that the troubles of England, the oceans of blood that had been shed in it, and many other afflictions, originated in the usurped power of the Popes, that the King was the head of the Anglican Church, and that the Bishop of Rome possessed no authority out of his own diocese.

"I cannot subscribe to that form," said More, "without exposing my soul to everlasting damnation. I am ready to give my adhesion to the Act of Succession, which is a political Act, but without the preamble." "You are the first man who has refused," said Lord Chancellor Audley; "go into the garden for a while and think of it." When he was again sent for he gave as firm a refusal as at first, and so did Fisher. Cranmer, who earnestly desired to save these two conscientious men, asked Cromwell to accept the oath they proposed, and the latter consulted the King upon it. "They must give way," exclaimed the King, "or I will make an example of them which shall frighten others."* As the King was inexorable, they were attainted by Act of Parliament for refusing to take the required oath and sent to the Tower. This was in December, 1534.

When this first burst of anger was over, Henry was desirous to save both their lives. The venerable Bishop, now fourscore years old, had been his tutor, and to him the King owed most of the learning that he possessed.

* D'Aubigné's "*Hist. of Ref.*," vol. v., page 54.

As to More, his former Chancellor, he had loved him for many years; and well he might, for, with his great classical learning, remarkable eloquence, and distinguished attainments, he always manifested so sweet and gentle a disposition that it was simply impossible to come into contact with him without loving him. The execution, therefore, of these illustrious men, so esteemed throughout Christendom, was deferred, and several months passed away, when a circumstance occurred which exasperated Henry greatly.

About the 20th May, 1535, Paul III., who had succeeded to the Papal chair, created a certain number of Cardinals, and amongst them the venerable prisoner Fisher. The news of this creation burst upon Rome and London like a clap of thunder, and Henry's ambassador at the Papal court, Da Casale, exclaimed that it was offering his master the greatest affront possible, and he told the Pope that he had never committed a more serious mistake. Henry considered it an insolent challenge to confer the highest honours upon a man convicted of treason, and said, "Since they place Fisher among the Cardinals of Rome, in England he shall be accounted among the dead. Paul may, if he likes, send him the hat, but when the hat arrives there shall be no head on which to place it." * This action on the part of the Pope was done without the consent of Fisher, who said, with all simplicity, "If the Cardinal's hat were at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up."

On the 14th June following, Thomas Beddell and other officers of justice were sent to the Tower to demand of Fisher and More that they should recognise the King as the head of the Church. Fisher made no reply, but More said, "The royal supremacy is established by law. That

* D'Aubigné.



BISHOP FISHER.

From a Painting by Holbein.

law is a two-edged sword; if I accept it, it kills my soul; if I reject it, it kills my body."

On the 22nd June Fisher was executed. On his way to the scaffold he opened his Latin Testament, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "O Lord, I open it for the last time; grant that I may find some word of comfort to the end I may glorify Thee in my last hour." The first words he saw were these: "*Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut te cognoscant illum solum verum Deum et quem misisti Jesum Christum.*"* Fisher closed the book, and said, "That will do," and with those delightful words on his mind he laid his head upon the block and died. I have thus fully entered into the death of Bishop Fisher because it is essential to my story relating to the title "Fidei Defensor," and its being cancelled by Paul III.

After the death of Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More was summoned before the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, where he was accused of high treason. His reply to the numerous accusations brought against him was, "I have never uttered a single word in opposition to the statute which proclaims the King the head of the Church." "If we cannot produce your words," said the King's attorney, "we can produce your silence." "No one can be condemned for his silence," nobly answered More. "*Qui tacet consentire videtur*—silence gives consent—according to the lawyers." Nothing, however, could save him; the jury returned a verdict of guilty. On his way back to the Tower his daughter Margaret flew to her father, and, bursting through the officers and halberdiers by whom he was surrounded, fell on his neck and, kissing him, cried, "O, my father! O, my father!" and could say no more, her voice was so choked with grief. The soldiers,

* "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent."—John xvii. 3.

much moved, halted, and tears ran down many of their eyes whilst Sir Thomas blessed his daughter.

On the 6th July, 1535, early in the morning, one of his familiar friends, Sir Thomas Pope, came to tell him that it was the King's pleasure that he should suffer at nine o'clock that morning. "He received the news" (says Froude) "with perfect composure, and said, 'I am much bounden to the King for the benefits and honours he has bestowed upon me, and most of all am I bounden to him that it pleaseth his Majesty to send me so shortly out of the miseries of this present world.'"

*

After this Sir Thomas put on a fine silk robe, which his wealthy friend Bonvisi, the merchant of Lucca, had given him. Sir William Kingston endeavoured to persuade him to change it for his ordinary dress, saying that the man to whom it would fall by custom was only a worthless fellow. More replied, "What, Mr. Lieutenant, shall I account him a worthless fellow who will do me so singular a benefit? Nay, I assure you, were it cloth of gold, I would think it well bestowed on him, for St. Cyprian, that famous Bishop of Carthage, gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold because he knew he should procure unto him an unspeakable good turn." † The King had requested that he should make no speech, and More was obedient to the King whenever his conscience was not against Henry's request, and, therefore, contented himself with saying, "I die in the faith of the Catholic Church and a faithful servant of God and the King." He then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first Psalm, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy lovingkindness: according unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions," etc. When he rose up, which he did

* Cayley's "Memoirs," vol. i., page 252.

† D'Aubigné, vol. v., page 85.

cheerfully, the executioner asked his forgiveness. More kissed him, and told him he was doing for him the greatest kindness that he had ever received from man.

The executioner was preparing to strike, when More stopped him, and, putting his beard carefully on one side, said, "This, at least, has not committed treason." His great-grandson, mentioning this circumstance, says, "So, with great alacrity and spiritual joy, he received the fatal blow of the axe, which no sooner had severed his head from the body but his soul was carried by angels into everlasting glory, where a crown of martyrdom was put upon him which can never fade nor decay." * It may seem strange to some that a devout and Christian man should have been jocose at such a solemn moment, but it must be remembered that it was one of the special features of his character to be humorous at all times ; it was, therefore, natural to him to be so to the last, and it was a striking proof that death had by no means discomposed him. In the portraits that have come down to us I have not found one with a beard ; probably Sir Thomas let it grow during his long confinement in the Tower.

The deaths of these two great and good men struck the English people with astonishment and horror, for Henry had known More ever since he was a boy of nine years old and had always professed a great esteem for him ; and so charmed was the King by his witty conversation that he treated him with exceptional familiarity, and would often send for him into his private chamber to talk upon matters of astronomy, geometry, divinity, and such other subjects ; sometimes, also, he would invite More to sup in private with him and the Queen, to be merry with them. At times, too, the King would present himself, an unbidden guest, at dinner-time at More's own house, and would walk

* " Life of Sir Thomas More," by his great-grandson, page 275.

with his Chancellor about his garden at Chelsea, holding his arm about his neck. But More was under no delusion respecting the tenure of the King's affection, for he told his son-in-law, Roper, that if his head could win for Henry a castle in France it would not fail to go, and we have seen how correct his estimate of Henry was.

In May, 1532, Sir Thomas asked the King's permission to resign his office of Lord Chancellor, stating that his age and infirmity admonished him to give his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Henry unwillingly accepted his resignation, and ordered the new Lord Chancellor (Sir Thomas Audley) to pronounce in open court an eulogy on the merits of his predecessor, and to express the reluctance with which the King had accepted his resignation. This same Audley, with the King's approval, pronounced the sentence of death upon poor More only three years afterwards, because he could not conscientiously acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church. And then this cruel monster, for I cannot help calling him so, punished also the helpless widow and children by seizing all More's property, thereby reducing Lady More and her family to utter poverty.

The deaths of Fisher and More shocked not only all England but also all Europe, and the same feeling of horror seemed to pervade all minds, from the prince on his throne to the peasant in his cottage. Thoroughly as we Protestants agree with Henry's throwing off the supremacy of the Pope, we also look with equal indignation upon the cruelties practised by him in enforcing his own supremacy upon the people. The effect at Rome was extraordinary; no sooner was the terrible reply of Henry to Fisher's promotion to the Cardinalate made known than a conclave was instantly summoned. Cardinal Tournon described the scene upon the scaffold in language



POPE PAUL THE THIRD.

From a Painting by Titian.

which moved all his audience to tears, and the Pope (Paul III.), in a paroxysm of anger, declared that if he had seen his own nephews murdered in his presence it would not have affected him so much.

There were therefore no more false efforts at conciliation; open war thenceforth appeared to be the only possible relation between the Papacy and Henry VIII. Paul III., in his burst of anger, drew up his far-famed bull of interdict and deposition, which, though reserved at the moment, in deference to Francis of France, was issued three years later. The substance of his voluminous anathemas may be thus briefly epitomised.

The Pope commences by quoting and applying to himself the words of Jeremiah, "Behold I have set thee over nations and kingdoms that thou mayest root out and destroy, and that thou mayest plant and build again." Then he recites the bestowment upon Henry by his predecessor, Leo X., the title of "Defender of the Faith," of which he had rendered himself unworthy;* and goes on to address the King as a disobedient vassal already lying under the censures of the Church, and who had gone on to heap crime upon crime, so that now only a number of days would be allowed him to repent and make his submission; at the expiration of this period of respite the following sentence would take effect:—

The King, with all who abetted him in his crimes, should be pronounced accursed, cut off from the body of Christ to perish. Also when he died, his body should lie unburied, and his soul, blasted with anathema, should be cast into Hell for ever. The lands of his subjects who remained faithful to him would be laid under interdict, their children would be disinherited, their marriages illegal,

* "Ac præfati Tituli prærogativâ et honore se indignum reddendo." See "Paul III.'s Bull of Excommunication of Henry VIII.," page 215.

their wills invalid, and they would escape from such penalties only on one condition—viz. their instant rebellion against their apostate prince. All officers of the Crown would be absolved from their oaths, and all subjects, secular or ecclesiastic, from their allegiance.

The entire nation, under penalty of excommunication, would be commanded no longer to acknowledge Henry as their sovereign. No true son of the Church should hold any intercourse with him or his adherents, neither trade with them, speak with them, nor give them food. The clergy, leaving behind a few of their number to baptise the new-born infants, were, at the expiration of the days of grace, to withdraw from the accursed land and return no more until it had submitted. If the King, trusting to force, persevered in his iniquity, the Lords and Commons of England, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and all other persons, would be required, under the same penalty of excommunication, to expel him from the throne, and the Christian princes of Europe would be called on to show their fidelity to the Holy See by aiding in so godly a work. Also as the King had commanded the clergy to preach against the Pope in their churches, so the Pope commanded them to retaliate upon the King, and with bell, book, and candle declare him accursed.

This is only a short epitome of this famous bull, but it will be sufficient to give my readers some idea of the powers assumed by the Popes in those days. Henry, however, snapped his fingers at all this assumption of the Pope, and had an Act passed to confirm him in the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, and to make it an act of high treason to omit such title.

This is so little known, and so many people suppose that the title now borne by our sovereign is the one that was given by Leo X. for Henry's book against Luther, that

I think it will interest most of my readers to know that such is not the case, but that the present title was really conferred on Henry VIII. and his heirs by an English Parliament, which Act I had the good fortune to find after a careful search in our great National Library, and of which the following is a copy:—

HENRY THE EIGHTH,
BY THE GRACE OF GOD KYNG OF ENGLAND
FRAUNCE AND IRELAND,

defendour of the faythe, and of the churche
of Englande and also of Irelande, in earth
the supreme heade: to the honour of
Almighty God, and for the concorde,
quyete, and wealthe of this his realme
and subiectes of the same, beganne thys
thyrd Session of his moste high courte of
parliament at Westminster the XXX day
of January in the five and thyrty yere of
his maiesties moste noble and byctorious
reygne, and there held & continued
the same thirde Session tyll
the XXX day of Marche in
the said five and thirty
yere wherein were
established these
acts followyng:

An Acte for the ratification of the Kynges Maiesties
style.—Cap. iii.

“Whereas our most dradde natural and gracions soueraign liege lorde the Kyng, hath heretofore ben and is iustely, lawfully, and notoriously known, named, publyshed, and declared to be the King of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the feyth, and of the Church of England and also of Irelande, in earth supreme heade; and hath iustly and lawfully used the title and name thereof, as to his grace apperteyneth: Be

it enacted by the Kyng our soueraigne lord, with the assent of the lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, that all and syngular his graces subiectes, residantes of or within this realme of England, Irelande, and elswhere within other his maiesties dominions, shall from henseforth accepte & take the same his maiesties stile as it is declared and set forth in maner & fourme folowynge, that is to say, in the latine tongue, by these wordes: *Henricus Octauus, dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, & Hibernicae, rex, fidei defensor, & in terra ecclesiae Anglicanae & Hibernicae, supremum caput*; and in the englyshe tongue, by these wordes: *Henry the eyght, by the grace of God, Kyng of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the feyth, and of the church of England and also in Ireland, in earth the supreme head*. And that the sayd style declared and set forth by this acte, in maner and fourme as is aboue mentioned, shal be from henseforth by th'auctoritie aforesayd unyted and annexed for euer to the imperiall crowne of this his highnes realme of England.

“And be it further enacted by the auctoritie aforesaid that if any person or persons of what estate, dignitie, degree, or condition, so euer he or they be, at any tyme after Ester next commynge, craftely imagine, inente, or attempte, by colour of any pretence, to deprive the kynges highnes, the queene, the prince, or the heyres of the body of the kinges maiestie lawfully begotten, or the heyres of the body of the prince lawfully begotten, or any person or persons to whome the imperial crowne of this realm is lymitted in this present session of parlyament, or at any tyme hereafter, shall be limited and disposed by the kynges highnes, by his gracions letters patentes, or by his highnes last wyl in writing, signed with his most gracions hand, of any of their titles, stiles, names, degrees, or roial estate, or regal power whiche, as is abouesayd, is limited, unyted, or appointed to the imperial crowne of this his realme, or that hereafter by auctoritie of parlyament, shall be set forth limited, united, or appointed to the sayd imperial crowne; that then euery suche offence and contempt shall be demed and adiudged high treason, and the offendour and offendours therein, and their

aydours, counsellours, mayteinours, and abettours, and euery of them, beinge therof lawfully conuicted, shal be demed and adiudged high traytours, and shal suffre peines of death and other forfeitures, penalties, and losses, as is accustomed and lymitted by any lawe or statute in this realme hertofore had or made, for, or in cases of high treason.

“*Sauyng to euery such person and persons and bodies politike to their heires, assignes, and successours, and to the heires, assignes, and successours of euery of them (other then such persons as shal be conuicted or atteynted, and their heirs and successours, and all other claiming to their use), al suche right, title, interest, use, possession, condition, rentes, fees, offices, annuities, and commons, whiche they or any of them shall haue in or upon any manours, landes, tenements, rentes, fees, offices, annuities, or hereditaments, that shal so happen to be loste and forfepte by reason of any conuiction or atteynder for any of the treasons or offences aboue rehersed, at any tyme before the sayd treasons and offences committed.*”

Here, then, we have an Act of Parliament passed to confer upon the King the title of “Defender of the Faith,” in open defiance of the Pope’s bull and excommunication; yea, more, Henry had it distinctly stated that any one daring to omit such a title should lose his head as a traitor, so that what with the Act of Supremacy and this Act in reference to the royal titles, the upholders of the Pope’s power in England must have had a very uneasy time of it. Considering that this Act was printed some 350 years ago, I think that the diction is remarkably good, although the spelling is quaint and with no fixed rule as to the use of the letters i and y; also the letter u is throughout used for v.

Here I should like to make a little digression to say a few words about our Noble and Gracious Queen. When I found this Act of Parliament in the archives of the British Museum I was filled with gladness, because it was

so delightful to feel assured that this title borne by her Majesty was really an English one. Also I was not a little pleased that it gave me the opportunity of introducing the Queen as a frontispiece to this work. Desiring, however, that it might be a portrait approved of by her Majesty, I wrote to Colonel Sir Arthur Bigge to ask him kindly to give me his opinion upon the matter; to which letter I received a most prompt and courteous reply, mentioning the one which I have chosen, photographed by Messrs. Downey and Son last year by her Majesty's authority, and which is generally looked upon as the Diamond Jubilee portrait.

Never in the whole history of the world was there such a day as that Jubilee, when millions of British hearts were beating with love and intense admiration of their noble Queen, whom God had spared for sixty years to reign over them. By the kindness of the Archdeacon of London I had an excellent position allotted to me on the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral, and great was my happiness the whole day. Frequently I thought of her Majesty in connexion with her accession, and remembered that on her being told by the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of York that she was Queen of England, her first words were a desire that his Grace would pray for her that she might have wisdom given her to govern so great a people. This prayer ascended up to God's throne, who bestowed upon our sovereign this precious gift of wisdom, and added, as in Solomon's case, others—viz. wealth and honour. There was a fourth blessing of long life promised to Judah's king if he religiously kept the divine commandments, but in this he failed, and died about sixty years of age; whereas our beloved Queen, having faithfully served God and set the whole nation an example of piety and goodness, has reigned longer than Solomon lived. And

her whole life has been an exemplification of the promise, "For them that honour me I will honour."

I must now, for a short time, return to Dr. Clerk. In my opening account of him I carried my readers on to his presenting, in 1521, Henry's book against Luther to Pope Leo X. He remained in Rome until Leo's death and the election of Adrian VI., which took place in December, 1521. On this occasion Wolsey employed him to advance his interests, but he was not successful; he remained, however, at Rome until September of the next year, when he returned to England and was made Master of the Rolls on the 20th October, 1522, but resigned the office about a year afterwards. On Wolsey's resigning the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in 1523, Clerk was nominated in his place, but before he could be consecrated, he was sent to Rome to conclude a treaty with Pope Adrian VI., Charles V., the Duke of Milan, and the Swiss. Whilst there he was consecrated to his English bishopric, which would seem a strange thing to us now; but at that time the Pope had so much ecclesiastical power throughout Europe that I fancy Clerk considered it a great honour. That he was popular in Rome there can be no doubt, for on his leaving, in November, 1525, he was presented with a ring worth 500 ducats.

On his way back to England he had an interview, on State affairs, with Louise of Savoy. During the early part of the next year he was engaged in the duties of his see, but the King found him so excellent a diplomatist that, in July, he sent him as ambassador to the Court of France, with the view of inducing Francis to dissolve his alliance with Charles X., and to give up the idea of a marriage with the Princess Elenora. At the same time Clerk was to endeavour to persuade him to apply for the hand of the Princess Mary of England. In 1527 Henry again sent

him to Rome on matters of business, where he remained until the next year, and on his way back met, at Paris, Cardinal Campeggio, who accompanied him to England, where he was going with a special commission from the Pope to try, in connexion with Wolsey, the divorce case of poor Queen Catherine. Clerk was appointed one of the counsellors for the Queen, and, by command of the legates, served their citation on the King and Queen on the 18th June, 1529. I am, however, extremely sorry to say that he was not faithful to Catherine, for on the avocation of the cause of the King's divorce from the legative court, he betrayed the interests of the Queen by agreeing with Wolsey that she should withdraw from the proceedings at Rome, and joined in pronouncing the King's divorce. It was a pity that Clerk consented to be the Queen's advocate, for, having been so long in the confidence of the King, it must have been very difficult for him to act in direct opposition to Henry.

I have not yet found out what Dr. Clerk did for the next ten years, nor what part he took in the suppression of the monasteries, but I find that in 1540 the Abbey of my church was annexed to the see of Bath and Wells, and was given to the Bishop for a place of residence, as mentioned in the opening of this chapter. Clerk, however, resided in it for a very short time, for he was away during that year on an embassy to the Duke of Cleves, to whom Henry had sent him in reference to the divorce of the Duke's sister, generally called Anne of Cleves. On returning from this embassy, he and his servants fell sick at Dunkirk, and two of the latter, I think, died. It was therefore supposed that they had been poisoned by some of the people of Germany, amongst whom Henry's divorce was looked upon with odium, and consequently Clerk's commission was very unpopular. He was so ill that he thought he should die,

and gave orders to be buried in the church of Notre Dame, Calais ; but he lived to return to England, where he died on the 5th January, 1541, and was buried in our Abbey. Afterwards, for some cause, his remains were moved to St. Botolph's, Aldgate, where I believe they now lie.

Dr. Clerk's diocesan duties were generally performed by two suffragan bishops, and by a bishop consecrated to the see of Taunton. He was appointed to assist in drawing up an elaborate treatise upon the Articles of Religion, entitled, "The Institutions of a Christian Man," which was the fruit of much controversy amongst the bishops. Clerk's life, however, was so much taken up with diplomatic duties that he had very little time left for literary work ; but he certainly was the most able ambassador attached to Henry's Court.

VI.

The Duke and his Daughter Jane.



LADY JANE GREY.

In the Collection of the Earl of Stamford and Warrington.

III.

The Duke and his Daughter Jane.

IN consequence of the Abbey having been given to the Duke of Suffolk as a London residence, by royal letters patent, in the reign of Edward VI., I shall avail myself of the opportunity of writing a short history of himself and his daughter Jane. I cannot find the exact date of the presentation, but believe it was in January, 1552, for in that month and year he received additional property as gifts from the Crown, and it is most probable that the Abbey was amongst those gifts.

The Rev. Dr. Fly, in the paper which he read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1803, and Rev. Thomas Hill, in his *History of Holy Trinity*, state that it does not appear how it was that the Abbey reverted to the Crown after being bestowed upon the Bishops of Bath and Wells in perpetuity; I shall presently however show that Bishop Barlow exchanged it with the Lord Protector for other property in 1548. It was therefore at the disposal of King Edward in 1552, when it seems he bestowed it upon the Duke.

This Duke was the son of Thomas Grey, the second Marquess of Dorset, who was commander-in-chief of the army, consisting of ten thousand men, sent into Spain by Henry VIII. in 1512, in order to assist the Emperor Ferdinand of Carlisle in the invasion of Guienne. Burke tells us that he was esteemed the best general of those times: that he was ever careful of good pay lest his soldiers should mutiny; of good diet and quarters lest they should fail;

and of order, discipline, and temperance, lest they should be confused by sudden attacks, or enfeebled by sickness and distemper. His speech was soldier-like, plain, short, smart, and material; and notwithstanding the times could not endure his virtues, nor he their vices, he died full of honour at Court, with the applause of the country, with this monument from the King:—“*That honest and good man.*”

This, then, was the father of Henry Grey. His mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton in Kent.* On the death of his father in 1533, he became the third Marquess of Dorset, and was constantly at Court, where he soon obtained a high position, and took part in all the great Court ceremonials of his day. In 1538, with the King's approval, he married Frances, the elder daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary Tudor, younger sister of Henry VIII. There is a romantic story about this marriage of Brandon into the royal family, which I will relate, for it will show why Lady Jane Grey was afterwards considered the rightful heir to the throne. He had so greatly distinguished himself on several occasions, both in the army and navy, that the King, as a reward for his services, created him Duke of Suffolk in 1551, and admitted him to a high place at Court—so much so, that he assisted at the coronation of the Princess Mary, the King's sister, who had become the wife of Louis XII. of France.

After the coronation a tournament was celebrated, attended with all the pomp manifested on such occasions, during which Brandon greatly distinguished himself and attracted the special notice of the Queen; so much so, indeed, that when King Louis died, not long after, she bestowed her hand upon his Grace, who with much tact and ability reconciled the Kings of England and France to

* Burke's “Extinct Peerages.”

the union, and obtained from the former a grant in general tail of all the lordships, manors, etc., which had previously belonged to Edmund de la Poole, the previous Duke of Suffolk, who was beheaded and attainted 1513. Brandon thus stood amongst the highest in the Kingdom in rank and wealth, and was one of the retinue of his royal master at his magnificent interview with Francis I. upon the Field of the Cloth of Gold.*

Such, then, was the father-in-law of the young Marquess of Dorset; and consequently his wife Frances was niece, and his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, was grand-niece to the King.

Though this alliance with the daughter of so great and powerful a nobleman was a brilliant match for Henry Grey, there was a dash of bitterness in the cup, for in compliance with his father's wishes he had previously contracted an engagement to marry a daughter of Lord Arundel. Some say he was really married to her, but whether it were so or not I cannot quite discover. However, he managed with some difficulty to free himself from the engagement by payment of a large sum of money; but I think we shall see later on that the Arundel family never forgave him. I mentioned that he took part in most of the Court ceremonies; and I find we have in the British Museum,† amongst the Harleian MSS., a full account of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, when the Marquess of Dorset carried the sceptre. The words relating to it are:—

“Whitsunday, June 1.—The Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Councillors left the City for Westminster at 7 a.m. Between eight and nine the Queen came into the Hall and stood under

* I find it stated in the “Dictionary of National Biography” that Mary Tudor was attached to the Duke of Suffolk before her marriage to the French king, and only consented to marry the latter because he was not likely to live long and on condition she should have her own choice afterwards.

† Harl. MSS., 41, f. 2.

the cloth of estate, and then the King's chapel and the Monks of Westminster came in with rich copes, with many Bishops and Abbots. The Queen went to the high altar of Westminster, accompanied by the Aldermen, Barons, Dukes, Earls, Bishops, etc. The Marquess of Dorset bore the sceptre, the Earl of Arundel the rod of ivory and the dove, and the Earl of Oxford, High Chamberlain, the crown. The Duke of Suffolk,* being High Steward of England for that day, bare a long white rod, and Lord William Howard the rod of the Marshalship. The Queen wore a surcoat and robe of purple velvet furred with ermine, wearing her hair with a coif and circlet as on Saturday. Four of the Cinque Ports Barons bore the canopy over her. The Bishops of London and Winchester bare up the laps of her robe, and her train was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk, many other ladies following. She rested awhile in a rich chair between the choir and high altar, and then proceeded to the altar where the Archbishop of Canterbury crowned her with the crown of St. Edward, which being heavy was taken off again, and the crown made for her put on."

From another Harleian MS.† I find that the Marquess of Dorset took a part in the christening of the Princess Elizabeth (10th September, 1533), and his mother, the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset, was one of the godmothers. There is a letter in the Rolls Office, dated 4th February, 1534, from the Marchioness to Cromwell, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, thanking him for his kindness to her son then at Court, and asking the Minister to notice any demeanour unmeet for him, adding, "I pray you for his father's sake to rebuke him, and if he has any grace he will be grateful to you when he grows older." Cromwell seems to have carried out the Marchioness's wishes, for in another letter a year later she thus writes to him: "I thank you for the kindness my son daily finds in you, and I trust he may have your good advice, and that you will continue friendly to myself."

The young Marquess seems to have made many friends

* The Marquess of Dorset's father-in-law.

† Harl. MSS., 543, f. 128, B.M.

at Court; for when a list of noblemen was submitted to the King for him to choose two for the honour of the order of Knight of the Garter, his name was amongst them. Henry, however, at a chapter of the order held 5th August, 1537, running this list hastily over, said he thought fit to choose Sir Thomas Cromwell, his principal Secretary and Lord Privy Seal, to which all with joyful looks and words agreed. He, being immediately summoned, fell down before the sovereign, giving, with all the eloquence of which he was master (and certainly he was master of the best) infinite thanks for the honour conferred upon him.

The mother of the Marquess continued to stand very high at Court, for we find, from a note written by her to the King, that she had received the Queen's letters containing the most joyful news that had come to England these many years, viz. the birth of a prince, and she thanks the King for having appointed her to bear the "Lord Prince to his christening." Though appointed to this most honourable office she was not able to attend, because she had been staying for some time at the Archbishop's palace at Croydon, where there had been much sickness and several deaths; it was thought, therefore, undesirable for her to be present. The Prince was carried under a canopy by the Marchioness of Exeter, supported by her husband and the Duke of Suffolk, 15th October, 1537. The Marquess of Dorset and his wife were very anxious to be present at the christening, but the King sent them "his thanks and said he would spare them for this time for the more surety of health."

The sweating sickness seems to have been very prevalent at this time, for the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were not only desired to make proclamation forbidding the access of persons to the Court on the day appointed for the christening of the Prince without special

letters from the King, but also Cromwell was instructed by the King to thank the Lord Mayor and his brother Aldermen for their goodwill, but it was his pleasure to spare them.* From a letter written by the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset to Cromwell, which we have also in the British Museum,† we find that she thought herself unkindly treated by her son, the Marquess, in reference to some of her property. I will not, however, go into these domestic differences, but will pass on to the close of Henry's reign. The King died Friday, 28th January, 1547, about an hour after midnight. Late on the previous evening the symptoms had become rapidly worse. He was asked which of his Bishops he desired to see; he answered, Cranmer. The Archbishop was sent for, but there was some delay, and when he reached the King, though conscious, he was speechless. Cranmer, speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ; thereupon the King wrung the Archbishop's hand and expired.‡ Strype, in his "Ecclesiastical Memorials,"§ gives a full account of the funeral of the King, which was conducted with much pomp and grandeur. Cranmer having taken important parts in the events narrated in this and the preceding chapter, I give here a portrait of him from a beautiful painting in Lambeth Palace.

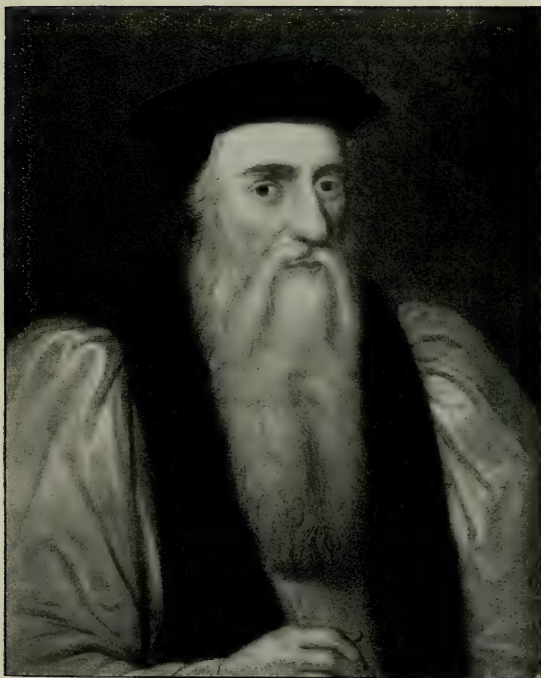
On the accession of Edward VI., the Marquess of Dorset was created Lord High Constable of England for three days, to superintend the young King's coronation, and was made a Knight of the Garter at the same time. During Edward's minority, Dorset took a prominent part in the

* Harl. MSS., 442, f. 149, B.M.

† Vesp. MSS., f. xiii. 103, B.M.

‡ Strype's "Cranmer," vol. i., page 199.

§ Vol. ii., part 2, page 289 *et seq.*



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.
From a Painting in Lambeth Palace.

Government, and actively championed the cause of the Reformation ; he was, however, led away by Lord Seymour of Sudeley, High Admiral of England, and brother of the Protector. Froude,* when describing Lord Seymour, says that he “resembled his brother in an ambition which was disproportioned to his ability, in an outward magnificence of carriage, in personal courage, address, and general accomplishments. There the resemblance ended. The Protector was ambitious that he might do great things for the country ; his brother’s was the ambition of selfishness. The Protector was religious ; ‘the Admiral,’ said Latimer, ‘was a man furthest from the fear of God that ever he knew or heard of in England.’ † The Protector’s moral life was blameless ; the Admiral had seduced and deserted at least one innocent woman, who fell into crime and was executed. The Protector, when uninfluenced by theological antipathies, desired to be just ; the Admiral was a hard landlord, a tyrannical neighbour, an oppressor of the poor, a man of whom Latimer had heard so much wickedness, that he ever wondered what would be the end of him.”

That Dorset should have made a friend of such a man is greatly to his discredit, and goes far to prove that the character which most historians give him was, to a great extent, a correct one, viz. “that he was as weak as he was ambitious.” His ambition led him to hope that the Admiral would aid him in his schemes for placing his daughter, Lady Jane, on the throne, and he was weak-minded enough to trust in a man he knew was unworthy of the slightest confidence. Henry VIII. had, next in succession to his own daughters, and passing over the descendants of his eldest sister Margaret Queen of Scotland,

* Vol. v., page 127.

† Latimer’s Sermons before King Edward.

named in his will the daughters of his niece, Frances Marchioness of Dorset ; of these Lady Jane Grey was the eldest. Such being the case, Seymour persuaded her father to place her in his household, promising to use his endeavours to marry her to the King.

We must now turn, for a little while, from Dorset to this daughter Jane, whose history was so intimately mixed up with his that the one could not be written without the other. Lady Jane was born at Bradgate, Leicestershire, in October, 1537. The beauty of her person was equalled by that of her mind and character, and her learning and acquirements were remarkable. When scarcely nine years of age she entered the household of the Queen Dowager Catherine Parr, and was much in the Queen's society until her death, in 1548, when the child Jane was chief mourner. In a Latin elegy, written after her death by Sir Thomas Chaloner, she is commended not only for her beauty, but also for that which was a greater charm, her intelligent style of conversation. He speaks, too, of her extraordinary skill in languages, and says she was well versed in eight, consisting of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides that of her native land, in which she was well grounded.* He further observes that she had a natural wit, and that much improved by art and study. She played instrumental music well, and wrote an excellent hand ; also she was very clever with her needle. Notwithstanding all these accomplishments, Chaloner affirms that she was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit, and never showed an elated mind until she manifested it at her death. This Latin elegy by Sir Thomas was written in 1579, only twenty-five

* It seems to me that Sir Thomas, in his admiration of this beautiful woman, has gone a little too far here. I should scarcely think that she was " well versed " in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic.

years after Lady Jane's death, of which we have an ancient copy in the British Museum.*

In reference to these attainments of Lady Jane, there is an interesting story told of her by Roger Ascham, Queen Elizabeth's preceptor, in his work entitled "*The Schole-Master*," of which we have an original black-letter copy, printed in 1571. The story also gives us an insight into the domestic life of those days, and of the severity used by parents in high life towards their children. Ascham says † :—

"And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for virtue and learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany I came to Brodegate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park. I found her in her chamber, reading '*Phædo Platonis*,' in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Bocace. After salutation and duty done with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the Park. Smiling, she answered me, '*I wis all their sport in the Park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure meant.*' '*And how came you, madam,*' quoth I, '*to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing that not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?*' '*I will tell you,*' quoth she, '*and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvel at.*'

"*One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is that he sent me such sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in the presence of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, am sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else; I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and hobs; and other ways which I will not name, for the honour I bear them;*

* *De Rep. Anglorum.*

† I have modernised the orthography only.

so without measure misordered that I think myself in Hell, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer,* who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time of nothing whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me ; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more ; that in respect of it all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' ”

This interview took place in 1550, when Jane was only thirteen years of age. Ascham, describing this scene, adds that he remembered the conversation gladly, both because it was so worthy of memory and because it was the last talk that ever he had with her, and the last time that ever he saw that noble and worthy lady. In such a school of parental severity, blessed with pious sentiments and cheered by the promises of light and life in the Gospel, Lady Jane could not fail to acquire both resignation and fortitude. It is curious, however, to observe that although her parents treated her like a child, yet those learned and pious divines, Ascham, Bullinger, Sturm, and others, behaved towards her as towards a woman of good sense and consummate learning.

When Ascham had been a few months in Germany, he wrote to his friend Sturm of her almost incredible skill in writing and speaking Greek. She promised to send Ascham a Greek letter, and he wrote to her from Germany expressing anxiety to receive it. At fifteen she was corresponding with Bullinger whom I have just mentioned, and who was the learned pastor of Zürich ; and her three letters to him are still preserved in the Zürich Library. With them was originally sent a piece of embroidery worked by herself, but which is now lost. As Sir Thomas Chaloner stated,

* This was John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London. It was such a strange practice in those days to spell proper names several different ways.

her feminine accomplishments were no less celebrated than her graver studies. There was at this time in England a Swiss pupil of Bullinger's—John Ulmer—who was under the protection of the Duke of Suffolk, who wrote out to his friends in the warmest praise of Lady Jane, greatly admiring her learning and amiability, and confidently predicting her marriage with the King in 1551. That Edward was fond of her there can be no doubt; and, had his health not given way, in all probability he would have married her, which might have so altered the succession that neither Mary nor Elizabeth would have come to the throne. This, however, was not to be, but a sad and dark future for this excellent young lady was looming in the near distance.

On the 14th July, 1551, Henry and Charles, the two sons of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, died of the sweating sickness. Henry was still in his minority when he succeeded to the dukedom, which title became extinct with his death. In October of the same year King Edward conferred this title upon Lady Jane's father, and whom we shall therefore henceforth call the Duke of Suffolk instead of the Marquess of Dorset. Jane was constantly at Court, and in the society of the Princess Mary as well as that of the King, and was appointed to attend upon Mary of Guise, Queen-Dowager of Scotland, on her visit to London.

Now we must bring upon the scene another man who was to a great extent the cause of all the trouble that fell upon the Grey family—John Dudley, who was known at Court in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. for his daring and for his address in martial exercises, and received the honour of knighthood from Charles Brandon, the then Duke of Suffolk, when he was general of the army sent into France against the Duke of Bourbon. Afterwards he was appointed to a number of offices of importance, and



THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, LORD PROTECTOR.

From a Painting by Holbein.

later on was elevated to the peerage in the ancient dignity enjoyed by his mother's family—that of Viscount l'Isle. On the accession of Edward he was created Earl of Warwick with a grant of Warwick Castle, and in the sixth year of the King was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland, having previously been constituted Lord Marshal of England. He had been appointed by Henry VIII. as one of the executors of his will, but seems to have acquiesced in the designs of the Duke of Somerset, uncle of the King, who turned the joint regency into his own sole protectorate.

Afterwards, however, Northumberland aspired to this power, and was chiefly instrumental in the fall of the Protector, who had been one of his earliest and steadiest patrons. Sir Bernard Burke says that it was through the intrigues of Northumberland, that Somerset was arraigned before his peers for high treason, and, though acquitted of treason, was condemned for felony, and beheaded. This treachery towards his friend and patron, we shall see before long, met with its due retribution.

I have said that Northumberland was the chief cause of the dire calamities that fell upon the Greys, and this is how they came about. After the death of Somerset, Northumberland was anxious to secure the hand of Lady Jane for his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, his three other sons being already married. To this marriage it seems that there were no objections urged by her parents; and though I do not find any note of what Jane's feelings were in reference to it, it would seem probable from what passed afterwards that she was agreeable to the alliance. The marriage took place on 21st May, 1553, with much pomp, after which Northumberland entertained the design of altering the succession in favour of his own family, to accomplish which he was unremitting in his attentions to

the King during his illness, which took place early in this year, and so far succeeded, that Edward was prevailed upon to sign and seal a patent conferring upon Lady Jane Grey the succession to the throne.

In order to understand this matter thoroughly, we must notice that Henry VIII. had made a will, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, by which will the crown was to devolve :—

1. On his son Edward and the heirs of his body.
2. On his own heirs by Queen Katherine (Parr) or any other future wife.
3. On his daughter Mary.
4. On his daughter Elizabeth.
5. On the heirs of the body of his niece the Lady Frances.
6. On those of her sister the Lady Eleanor.

7. On the next rightful heirs. In the event of either of his daughters, the Lady Mary or Lady Elizabeth, marrying without the consent of the Privy Council, they were respectively to be passed over as if dead without lawful issue. By this will Lady Frances, the mother of Jane, was placed after the King's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and therefore Mary was the legal and rightful heir to the throne, both by her father's will and by Act of Parliament.

Northumberland, in plotting to carry out his ambitious plans, first set before the King the danger that would accrue to the Protestant religion if the succession, as settled by Henry's will, should be allowed to take place. This was attacking the youthful King on a subject that lay near his heart, and he was easily induced to look upon her as illegitimate in consequence of her mother's divorce. But it was not sufficient for Northumberland's plans that Mary should be set aside. It was necessary that Elizabeth's claims should also be annulled; and he therefore urged



EDWARD THE SIXTH.
From a Painting by Holbein.

both these things upon the King and Council—that if Mary were illegitimate, Elizabeth must be so also, for both the marriages of Catherine of Arragon and of Anne Boleyn with the King had been dissolved. Edward was very unwilling to wrong his Protestant sister Elizabeth; but Northumberland urged that either the will of King Henry must be allowed to stand good in every respect, and thereby settle the succession upon a Roman Catholic, or else both princesses must be set aside, since what applied to Mary applied equally to Elizabeth.

Next, this wily nobleman pointed out to Edward that his father had mentioned the heirs of Lady Frances, and not herself, to be the next in succession, and he had prepared himself with her consent to forego her own right in favour of her eldest daughter.

It will not be necessary to state all the succeeding steps taken by Northumberland; but on 11th June, Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and two of the judges, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General, were sent for to draw up an assignment of the crown to Lady Jane. These judges requested a little time to consider the matter, and at last they answered that they would be guilty of high treason if they were to presume to do any such thing; and also that all the Privy Councillors who might consent to such a measure would inevitably incur all the pains and penalties of the Act of Succession.

At this plain answer Northumberland flew into the utmost rage, calling Montague a traitor, and threatening the other judges so that they afterwards declared that they thought he would have beaten them. They withstood all this for the time, however; but being sent for again on 15th, they were so wrought upon by Northumberland's threats, backed by a promise of pardon under the Great Seal, that they consented to draw up the proposed

settlement, which was then signed by all the judges except Hales, who could not be prevailed on to act contrary to the express statute. To these letters patent Northumberland obtained the signatures of a hundred and one of the chief nobility and principal men of note in the kingdom, including great officers of State and Peers, elder sons of Peers, officers of the household, Secretaries of State, Judges, Privy Councillors, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, etc. Cranmer is said to have signed last, although his name stands first.

This remarkable instrument was afterwards called a Last Will by Northumberland, for there is now in the Lansdowne MS. 3, art. 24, a circular letter to the lieutenants of counties, supposed to come from Lady Jane, announcing her accession to the throne, *which is wholly in the handwriting* of the Duke of Northumberland, and which has these words:—

“We are entered into our rightful possession in this kingdom as by the last will of our said dearest cousin our late progenitor, and other several instruments to that effect signed with his own hand and sealed with the great seal of England (this Realme) in his own presence.”

Nichols, in “The Chronicle of Queen Jane,” published by the Camden Society, says:—

“By inserting this passage the Duke assumed the existence of a Last Will. So far as we know there was no such document other than the Letters Patent, to which we find several writers concurring in applying the term ‘Will.’ Northumberland probably thought it convenient to adopt that term because the country was already familiar with the fact that the Last Will of Henry VIII. had been legalised as limiting the succession. No doubt the Letters Patent were almost from the first spoken of as King Edward’s Will, as Cranmer so wrote of them in his apology to Queen Mary.”

These letters patent were in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton in King James’s reign, when he was desired

to deliver them up to be cancelled, which he did; but a copy was made, which is now in the British Museum,* and is preceded by this title:—

“A true copi of the counterfet wille supposed to be the laste wille and testament of Kinge Edward the Sixt, forged and published under the Great Seale of Englande by the confederacie of the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberlande on behalfe of Lady Jane, eldest daughter to the said duke of Suffolke, and testefied with the handes of the chiefe of the nobilitie and princepale men of note of this kingdome; dated the 21 day of June an^o 1553.”

Here it is said to be a “forged” will. This, however, is not strictly true, for though many of the names were doubtless signed under compulsion, still they were all genuine signatures, including that of the King. At the end of this remarkable copy, giving the full text of these letters patent, there is this memorandum:—

“This is a true coppie of Edward the Sixte his will taken out of the originall under the Greate Seale, which Sir Robart Cotton delyvered to the kinges majestie the xijth of Aprill, 1611, at Roystone to be canceled.”

I must now return to Lady Jane. When married to Guildford Dudley, she had entreated that, being herself so young and her husband very little older, that she might continue to reside with her mother. This was consented to, and Jane remained at home till a rumour was circulated that Edward was approaching his end, when she was told that she must remove to her father-in-law's house, “till God should call the King to His mercy.” After which her presence would be required at the Tower, as the King had appointed her to be the heir to the crown. This was the first hint received by her of this serious matter, which she believed to be a jest, and therefore took no notice of the order to change her residence, till the Duchess of

* Harl. MSS., 35, f. 364.

Northumberland came herself to fetch her. A violent scene ensued with Jane's mother, and at last the Duchess of Northumberland brought in her son, Guildford Dudley, who desired Lady Jane, on her allegiance as a wife, to return with him. Jane, not choosing to be disobedient to her husband, consented.

The Duchess carried her off, and whilst she was at the Duke's house at Chelsea, a message was brought her on Sunday, 9th July, 1553, that she was wanted immediately at Sion House to receive an order from the King. This was an untruth, for soon after she had arrived there Northumberland came in attended by Pembroke, Northampton, Huntingdon, and Arundel. The Earl of Pembroke, as he approached Lady Jane, knelt to kiss her hand. Then the Duchess of Northumberland and Lady Northampton entered, and the Duke, as President of the Council, rose and stated that his Majesty had prayed on his death-bed that Almighty God would protect the realm from false opinions, and especially from his unworthy sister. He also said that the King had before his death bequeathed the crown to his cousin, the Lady Jane, and should she die without children, to her younger sister, and he had entreated the Council, for their honour's sake and that of the realm, to see that his will was observed.

Froude* tells us that Lady Jane shook, covered her face with her hands, and fell fainting to the ground. Her first simple grief was for Edward's death; she felt it as the loss of a dearly-loved brother. The weight of her own fortune was still more agitating. When she came to herself she cried that it could not be. The crown was not for her; she could not bear it; she was not fit for it. Heylin, who wrote in 1660, gives her speech more in full, and says she returned answer in these words, or to this effect:—

* "History of England," vol. vi., page 9.

"That the laws of the kingdom and natural right standing for the King's sister, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did not belong to them ; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre ; that it was to mock God and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling and not at the usurpation of a crown. ' Besides,' said she, ' I am not so young nor so little read in the guiles of fortune as to suffer myself to be taken in by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil ; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruin. What she adored but yesterday, to-day is her pastime. And if I now permit her to adorn and crown me I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces. Nay, with what crown doth she present me ? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Catherine of Arragon ; made more unfortunate by the punishment of Ann Bulloign, and others that wore it after her. And why, then, would you have me add my blood to theirs ; and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it ?

"But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed ; if fortune would give me warranties of her constancy ; should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would delacerate though not kill me outright, to burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment me though I were assured not to be strangled with it ?

"My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones so ever it be adorned, or of what gold so ever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, rather than an exalted condition, exposed to the wind and followed by some dismal fall.' " *

The whole of this speech is so thoroughly in the style and language of Jane, that it appears to be genuine, although so few historians have quoted it. Heylin goes on to say :—

"It had been happy for herself, her father, and their several families had they suffered themselves to have been overcome by such powerful arguments, which were not only persuasive, but might

* Heylin's " History of the Reformation," page 159 of edition 1660 ; press No. 203^e 6.



JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

From a Painting by Holbein.

seem convincing had they not all been fatally hurried on to their own destruction. But the ambition of the two Dukes was too strong and violent to be kept down by any such prudent considerations. So that being wearied at the last with their importunities, and overcome by the entreaties of her husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted to that necessity which she could not vanquish, yielding her head with more unwillingness to the ravishing glories of a crown than afterwards she did to the stroke of the axe."

Froude says that Jane, knowing nothing to the contrary of the falsehoods which Northumberland had told her, clasped her hands and in a revulsion of feeling prayed God that if the great place to which she was called was indeed justly hers, He would give her grace to govern for His service, and for the welfare of the people. The Duke of Northumberland and the Lords of the Council then dropt on their knees, doing homage to the Lady Jane as queen; they swore allegiance to her, and declared that they would keep their faith or lose their lives in her defence. Jane's consent having been thus extorted from her, she was the next day conveyed by her father-in-law, with great state, to the Tower, which fortress, according to long established etiquette, had been the residence of the sovereigns for the first few days after their accession.

It has already been noticed as an extraordinary fact that her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, should have given up a prior claim to the crown in favour of a daughter; but it was now even more remarkable that a woman of her pride and a mother of her severity should actually have condescended, with the assistance of several other ladies of high rank, to bear up that daughter's train. The salutes of ordnance from the Tower batteries on this occasion are described as greater than ever had been heard before.

Scarcely had the youthful Queen assumed her state in the Tower when a proclamation was issued in her name, drawn up by her father-in-law and others; and two heralds,

preceded by trumpeters, announced the same, first in Cheapside and afterwards in Fleet Street, claiming from the people their allegiance to Jane as Queen of England. It commenced with these words:—

“Jane, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ on earth as supreme head. To all our loving faithful and obedient subjects, and to every of them Greeting.”

Then it went on to signify that by letters patent of the late King Edward, bearing date the twenty-first of June last past, the Lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, had been declared his true and lawful successor to the crown of England, the same to be enjoyed after her decease by the heirs of her body, as in the said letters patent more especially appear after a long recital of the matter. The proclamation finished thus:—

“Since the making of which letters patent, that is to say on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to His infinite mercy our said dear and entirely beloved cousin Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon, and, for as much as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten, and also that there remaineth at the present time no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our progenitor and great uncle King Henry the Eighth, and for as much as the said Lady Frances, our said mother had no issue male begotten of her body and born into the world in the lifetime of our said cousin King Edward the Sixth; so as the said imperial crown and other premises to the same belonging, or in anywise appertaining, now be and remain to us in our actual and royal possession by authority of the said Letters patent.

“We do, therefore, by these presents signify unto all our most loving, faithful and obedient subjects, that like as we for our part shall, by God’s grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign Queen and lady of all our good subjects in all their just and lawful suits and causes; to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintain God’s most holy word, Christian polity, and the good laws, customs and liberties of these our realms and

dominions. So we mistrust not, but they and every of them will again for their parts at all times and in all cases shew themselves unto us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duty and allegiance whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservation and surety. Willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees and conditions to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme peril.

"In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves in our Tower of London this tenth day of July in the first year of our reign.

"God save the Queen." *

Alas! poor Jane, she was queen only for nine days; for all the efforts made by her father and the Duke of Northumberland ended in utter failure, as the general feeling, even amongst a large number of Protestants, was that Mary was the rightful heir, and therefore that it would be treason to support Lady Jane, however strongly they might respect her for her goodness, admire her for her accomplishments, and honour her for her learning.

Mary herself, during part of Edward's illness, was at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire; but having received intelligence of the new arrangement of the succession, she made no reply to the invitation which was sent to her to come to Court and see her expiring brother, feeling sure that the invitation was nothing more than a trick on the part of the conspirators to get possession of her person for State purposes. Accordingly she set off two days before the royal demise for Kenninghall, in Norfolk, whence she proceeded to Framlingham Castle, in the vicinity of the coast, intending to escape by sea if necessary; and her extreme haste and anxiety may be

* The full text of this proclamation, occupying some seven pages, will be found in the "Life and Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey" (M. H. Nicholas); and in Howard's Life of her.

judged from the fact that, during this flight, in one day she rode forty miles.

Northumberland, finding himself thwarted in his attempts to lure Mary into his hands, set out with a body of troops to seize her person. When, however, he reached Bury, these troops informed him decisively that they would not bear arms against their lawful sovereign. He fell back on Cambridge, and wrote again to London for help; but the Lords of the Council sent him no help, for a number of them had determined to side with Mary's cause, and leaving the Tower, where the Court was then being held, they made their way to Baynard Castle. These members of the council were the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Bedford; Sir Thomas Cheyne, Treasurer of the Household; Sir William Petre, Secretary of State; Sir John Mason and Sir William Paget, Privy Councillors, all of whom had signed the letters patent of Edward VI., to which I have referred. When assembled at Baynard Castle, they sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and other great persons of the City, and Lord Arundel addressed them in earnest tones, pointing out that Mary was their lawful sovereign.

Lord Pembroke rose next, and said the words of Lord Arundel were true and good and not to be gainsaid. What others thought he knew not; for himself he was so convinced, that he would fight in the quarrel with any man, and "if words were not enough," he cried, flashing his sword out of the scabbard, "this blade shall make Mary queen or I will lose my life." Then these Lords, with the Lord Mayor (Sir George Barnes), who had also signed the letters patent, with the heralds, went to the Cross at Cheapside to proclaim Mary queen. Pembroke read the proclamation, and the people shouted "God save the Queen" when he had



QUEEN MARY THE FIRST.

From a Painting by Gouss.

finished reading it. The Earl threw up his jewelled cap and tossed his purse amongst the crowd.

Every sort of joy was manifested by the citizens, but I am inclined to think this arose from a strong innate feeling of loyalty towards a legal heir to the throne rather than from a personal preference of Mary to Jane. Moreover, Northumberland, who had plotted the whole scheme of Lady Jane's accession, was intensely hated for his want of principle and cruel oppressiveness.

Whilst these proceedings were going on in the City, a hundred and fifty men were marched to the Tower gates, and the keys were demanded in the Queen's name. Suffolk was unprepared, but the goodness of his heart and the weakness of his mind alike saved him from attempting a useless resistance. The unhappy father rushed to his daughter's room, clutched at the canopy under which Jane was sitting, and tore it down. She was no longer queen, he said, and such distinctions were not for one of her station. He then told her briefly of the revolt of the Council. She replied that his present words were more welcome to her than those in which he had advised her to accept the crown. Her reign being over, she asked innocently if she might leave the Tower and go home; but the Tower was not a place easily to be left save by one route too often travelled. Poor Jane and her father had to remain, actually, if not nominally, prisoners.

When the news of all this reached Northumberland, he at once went into the market-place of Cambridge and declared, after a violent clutch at his beard, that he had acted under orders from the Council, but that he understood that it had changed its mind, and he would change his mind also; therefore he cried "God save Queen Mary," and with a strained effort, like Pembroke, threw up his hat. Edwin Sandys, the Protestant Vice-Chancellor of the

University, was standing by, and the Duke said to him, "The Queen is a merciful woman, and there will be a general pardon." Sandys replied, "Though the Queen grant you a pardon, the Lords never will. You can hope for nothing from those who now rule." * It was true he could hope for nothing; the hatred of the whole nation, which before his late treasons he brought upon himself, would clamour to the very heavens for judgment against him.

His late colleague in the Council, Arundel, was sent to arrest him, when, with a craven spirit, the Duke fell at his feet and begged for mercy. Arundel replied coldly, "You should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment." And on 25th July he conducted Northumberland to London. Four hundred of the guards and detachments of troops were posted all along the streets from Bishopsgate, where the Duke would enter to the Tower, to prevent the mob from tearing him to pieces. It was but twelve days since he had ridden out from that gate in the splendour of his power; he was now assailed from all sides with yells and execrations. Bareheaded, with cap in hand, he bowed to the crowd as he rode on, as if to win some compassion from them; but so new-born a humility could find no favour. His scarlet cloak was plucked from his back, and the only sounds which greeted his ears were "Traitor! traitor! death to the traitor!" He hid his face, sick at heart with shame, and Lord Ambrose at the gate of the Tower was seen to burst into tears.†

The Duke was soon after tried by a Court of Peers at Westminster, pleaded guilty, and was condemned. Many times before his execution he begged for mercy; indeed, his conduct was despicable, for on one occasion he wrote to Arundel:—

* Fox, vol. viii.

† Renard to Charles X. (Rolls House MSS.).

"Oh that it would please her good Grace to give me life—yea, the life of a dog, if I might but live and kiss her feet and spend both life and all in her honourable service."

And then, as some think to gain the Queen's pity, he publicly professed himself a convert to Roman Catholicism, and continued to do so until the last moment; for on the scaffold he knelt and said, "I beseech you all to believe that I die in the Catholic faith." Then after repeating the Miserere Psalm, "*De profundis*," and the Paternoster, making the sign of the cross upon the sawdust, he kissed it and laid down his head and perished.

Thus ended the life of Lady Jane's father-in-law, who had, by his criminal plotting, brought her and her family to disgrace and ruin. Froude sums up his character thus:—

"In his better years Northumberland had been a faithful subject and a fearless soldier, and with a master's hand over him he might have lived with integrity and died with honour. Opportunity tempted his ambition, ambition betrayed him into crime, and, given over to his lower nature, he climbed to the highest round of the political ladder to fall and perish like a craven. He was one of those many men who can follow worthily, yet cannot lead, and the virtue of the beginning was not less real than the ignominy of the end."

Jane was detained in the Tower, though her father, the Duke of Suffolk, had been set at liberty a few days after Northumberland was committed; but he was under engagements to return to prison should the Queen require him to do so. On the 14th November, 1553, Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, Cranmer, and others, were arraigned for high treason at Guildhall, to which place they had been led by four hundred halberdiers. Lady Jane walked to the Hall wearing—

"A blacke gowne of cloth tourned downe; the cappe lyned with fess velvett and edget about with the same; in a French hooode all

black ; blacke velvet boke hanging before hir and another boke in hir hand open."*

Of her presence of mind upon this occasion, all historians agree. She did not seem alarmed, nor her constancy shaken, nor did her voice in the slightest degree falter or tremble. Perhaps the description of Rowe in his Tragedy will most forcibly describe the scene, and I do not think he has overdrawn it.* Pembroke had been expostulating with Bishop Gardiner in favour of mercy, and told him that the Queen, at his intercession, had granted the lives of Guildford and his wife, to which Gardiner replied :—

Gar. Ha ! what said you ? Pardon !

But sure you cannot mean it ; cou'd not urge
The Queen to such a rash and ill-tim'd grace ?
What ! save the lives of those who wore her crown !
My Lord, 'tis most unweigh'd, pernicious counsel,
And must not be comply'd with.

Pem. Not comply'd with !

And who shall dare to bar her sacred pleasure,
And stop the stream of mercy ?

Gar. That will I :

Who would not see her gracious disposition
Drawn to destroy herself.

Pem. Thy narrow soul

Knows not the godlike glory of forgiving ;
Nor can thy cold, thy ruthless heart conceive,
How large the power, how fix'd the empire is,
Which benefits confer on generous minds :
Goodness prevails upon the stubborn foes,
And conquers more than even Cæsar's sword did.

Gar. These are romantic, light, vain-glorious dreams,
Have you considered well upon the danger ?
How dear to the fond many, and how popular
These are whom you would spare ? Have you forgot,
When at the bar, before the seat of judgment,
This Lady Jane, this beauteous trait'ress stood,
With what command she charm'd the whole assembly ?

* "Chronicles of Queen Jane," page 32.

† "Lady Jane Grey," page 57.

With silent grief the mournful audience sat,
 Fix'd on her face, and list'ning to her pleading.
 Her very judges wrung their hands for pity ;
 Their old hearts melted in 'em as she spoke,
 And tears ran down upon their silver beards.
 Ev'n I myself was mov'd, and for a moment
 Felt wrath suspended in my doubtful breast,
 And question'd if the voice I heard was mortal.
 But when her tale was done, what loud applause,
 Like bursts of thunder, shook the spacious hall !
 At last, when, sore constrain'd, th' unwilling lords
 Pronounc'd the fatal sentence on her life,
 A peal of groans ran through the crowded court,
 As every heart was broken, and the doom,
 Like that which waits the world, were universal.

Rowe has so well described the wily and cruel character of Gardiner that I cannot refrain from giving a few more lines of this scene :—

- Pem.* And can that sacred form, that angel's voice,
 Which mov'd the hearts of a rude ruthless crowd,
 Nay, mov'd ev'n thine, now sue in vain for pity ?
- Gar.* Alas ! you look on her with lover's eyes :
 I hear and see through reasonable organs
 Where passion has no part. Come, come, my Lord,
 You have too little of the statesman in you.
- Pem.* And you, my Lord, too little of the churchman.
 Is not the sacred purpose of our faith
 Peace and goodwill to man ? The hallow'd hand,
 Ordained to bless, should know no stain of blood.
 'Tis true I am not practis'd in your politics :
 'Twas your pernicious counsel led the Queen
 To break her promise with the men of Suffolk—
 To violate what in a prince should be
 Sacred above the rest, her royal word.
- Gar.* Yes, and I dare avow it : I advis'd her
 To break through all engagements made with heretics
 And keep no faith with such a miscreant crew.
- Pem.* Where shall we seek for truth, when ev'n religion,
 The priestly robe and mitred head disclaim it ?
 But thus bad men dishonour the best cause.

I tell thee, Winchester, doctrines like thine
Have stain'd our holy church with greater infamy
Than all your eloquence can wipe away.
Hence 'tis that those who differ from our faith
Brand us with breach of oaths, with persecution,
With tyranny o'er conscience, and proclaim
Our scarlet prelates men that thirst for blood,
And Christian Rome more cruel than the pagan.

Gar. Nay if you rail, farewell. The Queen must be
Better advis'd than thus to cherish vipers,
Whose mortal stings are arm'd against her life.
But while I hold the seal no pardon passes
For heretics and traitors.

I must return now for a little while to the Duke of Suffolk. When he was allowed to leave the Tower, he first went to reside at his house at Sheen, and his wife was received at Court with much distinction. He was, however, far too restless a man to remain quiet for long; and though he had repeatedly assured the Queen of his loyalty, he cherished a deep aversion to her religion; so that when her marriage with Philip of Spain was under negotiation, he joined Sir Thomas Wyatt in a rebellion, undertaking to raise the Midland counties. The plot, however, was betrayed by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, so that when Wyatt sent to the Duke to tell him that arrangements were made for the rising, an officer of the Court appeared at his house with an intimation that he was to repair to the Queen's presence. Suffolk was in a riding-dress. "Marry!" he said, "I am coming to her Grace, for ye may see that I am booted and spurred. I will but break my fast as I go." The officer retired, upon which the Duke collected as much money as he could lay his hands upon, and sent a servant to warn his brothers, and though in bad health, mounted his horse and rode, without stopping, to Lutterworth; when on the following Sunday his brothers Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey

joined him,* and they fled with about fifty men at arms to Leicestershire, where the Duke had estates.

On the flight of the Duke being known at Court, it was supposed that he intended to proclaim his daughter. Such, however, was not the case; indeed, he assured the Mayor of Leicester that no harm was intended to the Queen, and that he was ready to die in her defence, his object being only to save England from the dominion of foreigners. Suffolk rode out of Leicester in full armour, at the head of about a hundred horse, and proceeded to Coventry, but the Mayor and citizens would not admit him. Soon, also, he heard that the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been sent to oppose and take him, was at Warwick. The Duke had an estate a few miles distant, called Astley Park, to which place he and his party retreated. Then, after dividing as much money as he had with him amongst his men, he bade them shift for themselves.

Lord Thomas Grey changed coats with a servant and rode off to Wales to join Sir James Crofts; whilst Suffolk, who was ill, took refuge with his brother, Lord John, in a cottage of one of his gamekeepers named Underwood. Huntingdon had issued a proclamation, and offered a reward for the Duke's apprehension, so that the cottage was thought insecure, and the Duke further hid himself in a hollow tree, where he was for two winter days and a night without food. Whether tempted by the reward, or frightened by menace, this Underwood treacherously went to Huntingdon and offered to betray his master. A party of troopers were dispatched with this Judas for their guide who, when they got to Astley, found that the Duke, unable to endure the cold and hunger any longer, had crawled out of the tree and was warming himself by the cottage fire. Both he and his brother were taken to Coventry, kept in

* Froude, vol. vi., page 152.

prison for three days, and then conducted by Huntingdon with three hundred horsemen to London, and on their arrival were committed to the Tower.

This last commotion gave the enemies of Lady Jane an excuse for urging the Queen to consent to her death, amongst the bitterest of which enemies were Renard, the Ambassador of Charles X., Prince Philip of Spain, and Gardiner. Indeed, Mary was given to understand that while Jane Grey lived, Philip would remain separated from her arms. Though the Queen had determined Lady Jane should die, she sent Feckenham to do his utmost to bring her, if possible, to the Roman Catholic faith. He was, however, quite unsuccessful, for Jane said: "The time is short, too short, to be spent in theological discussions, which if he would permit she would decline." Feckenham got Mary to give Jane a respite of three days to enable him to continue his exhortations. His attempts, however, to convert her wearied without convincing her, and she told him she had given up all thoughts of the world and would take her death patiently whenever her Majesty desired.

I fear I cannot spare space for this controversy; anyone who wishes to read it will find in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum * an apparently verbatim account of this conference. Also an account of it will be found in an old work entitled "*The Phenix*," printed in 1708. Jane wrote to her father after her condemnation, though historians differ as to the exact date. We have an official copy come down to us in a MS. volume of "*The Lord Stewards of England*." † This letter, though full of filial tenderness, was evidently written under the fear that her father might in a moment of weakness follow the example of the Duke of Northumberland,

* Harl. Coll., No. 425, page 83.

† B.M., Harl. Coll., No. 2194, page 24.

her father-in-law, by giving up his faith on the solicitations of Queen Mary's priests. The words are :—

“ Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, whom my life should rather have been lengthened, yet I can so patiently take it that I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days than if all the world had been given into my possession with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am very well assured of your impatient dolours redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe and especially as I am informed my woful estate ; yet, my dear father, if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps, herein I may account myself blessed that, washing my hands with the innocence of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord mercy to the innocent ! And yet though I must needs acknowledge that being constrained and as you know well enough continually assayed, yet in taking upon me I seemed to consent and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws ; yet I do assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is so much the less in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never mingled with my innocent heart.

“ And thus, good father, I have opened to you the state wherein I presently stand. My death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem woful, yet to me there is nothing that can be more welcome than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ my Saviour : in whose stedfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to her father) the Lord hath hitherto strengthened you, so continue to keep you that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

“ I am

“ Your obedient daughter till death,

“ JANE DUDDLEY.”

The night before she suffered she wrote upon the fly-leaf of her Greek Testament an exhortation to her sister Katherine. This Greek Testament is not in the British Museum, but may be in existence. There is, however, there a manuscript on vellum containing an essay by Albertus Castellanus, entitled “ *De Arte Moriendi*,” upon some blank spaces of which this exhortation of Lady Jane to her sister has been copied.*

* Harl. MSS., No. 2370.

the sinner? whom thou
thou hast redeemed with
precious blood.
Make them to be numbered
with saints in glory ever
lasting.

Cord save the xord and
 life thine heritage
 mine and also life y^e
 ore forever

we praise thee euere day
and we worship thy name

every word & route ende
the waye sayeth there is a waye to be borne
and a waye to be borne and a waye to be borne
and a waye to be borne and a waye to be borne

O Lord, let it be the 2. leaf.
to keepe the day without syn.
O Lord haue mercy vpon
me: haue mercy vpon me.
O Lord, let the incense

lighten your de, even as the
trise in the

Lord Strafer in the sea
me neuer be confounded.

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Now, however, I have to tell of a still more interesting manuscript book in the Harleian collection.* It is written on vellum, and contains a Manual of Prayers. It was evidently used both by Lady Jane and her husband, for both had written in it a few lines addressed to the Duke of Suffolk. This MS. is beautifully written, and is illuminated on almost every page. Perhaps my readers can imagine the indescribable thrill that passed through me when I held in my hands a book used by so accomplished and beautiful a woman in her prison, and which she had held in her hands upon the scaffold. This feeling was increased when I looked at her own handwriting in its pages, so that the 340 years which have elapsed since her death seemed to vanish and I appeared to be brought into close contact with poor Lady Jane. Lord Guildford's words on page 60 are :—

“Your loving and obedient son wisheth unto your Grace long life in this world with as much joy and comfort as ever I wished to myself, and in the world to come joy everlasting.

“Your most humble son till death,

“G. DUDDLEY.”

A few pages further on Lady Jane addresses her father in the following manner :—

“The Lord comfort your Grace, and that in his word wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it hath pleased God to take away two of your children : yet think not, I most humbly beseech your Grace, that you have lost them ; but trust that we by leaving this mortal life have won an immortal life. And I for my part, as I have honoured your Grace in this life, will pray for you in another life.

“Your Grace's humble daughter,

“JANE DUDDLEY.”

The iron-hearted Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, had been softened by the charms of his prisoner, and begged for some memorial of her ; upon which she

* Harl. MSS., No. 2342.

wrote in the prayer-book I have mentioned the following words:—

“Forasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good Master Lieutenant, therefore I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God to incline your heart unto his laws, to quicken you in his way, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of your mouth. Live still, to die, that by death you may purchase eternal life; and remember how Methuselah, who, as we read in the Scriptures, was the longest liver that was of man, died at the last; for as the preacher saith there is a time to be born and a time to die; and the day of death is better than the day of one’s birth.

“Yours as the Lord knoweth as a friend,

“JANE DUDDLEY.”

As Sir John Gage was Constable of the Tower at this time, some historians, and amongst them Howard, have stated that the book was given to him. In this they were mistaken; but Froude is right in saying it was given to the Lieutenant, Sir John Brydges, for most distinctly Lady Jane writes “Good Master Lieutenant.”

Her husband was to die before her, and on the morning of the fatal day* he begged to have a last interview and a last embrace; but she thought it best that they should not meet again on earth lest the tenderness of their parting should overcome the fortitude of both. She added that their separation would only be for a moment, and that they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have access to them or disturb their eternal felicity.

Poor Guildford Dudley! He was taken past the window of his bride’s chamber, from which she took one last parting glance and gave him a farewell wave of her hand, then sat down with apparent tranquillity, and with the most

* 12th February, 1554.

religious patience waited until her own appointed hour should arrive. Guildford's mutilated body was also carried past her window, and she is said to have exclaimed, "Oh, Guildford! the ante-feast is not so bitter that you have tasted and that I shall soon taste as to make my flesh tremble; but that is nothing compared to the feast that you and I shall this day partake of in Heaven!"

When the time came the Lieutenant offered his hand to lead her forth; she arose with great calmness, without the slightest change of countenance, and without even a tear in her eye—a degree of confidence which she preserved whilst walking to the scaffold with the prayer-book to which I have alluded in her hand, by the help of which she prayed most earnestly. Patient and mild as a lamb, she mounted the scaffold without hesitation, waiting quietly until silence was procured, when she spoke as follows, clearly, distinctly, and without the slightest tremor:—

"Good people I come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offence against the Queen's highness was only in consent to the device of others which is now deemed treason; but it was never of my seeking, but by counsel of those who should seem to have further understanding of such things than I, who knew little of the law and much less of the titles to the crown. The fact, indeed, was unlawful and the consenting thereunto by me or in my behalf. I do wash my hands therefore in innocence before God and you Christian people this day. I pray you all Christian people to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by none other means but by the mercy of God and the merits of the blood of His only Son, Jesus Christ. And I confess when I did know the word of God I neglected the same, and loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his goodness that he hath thus given me time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive I pray you to assist me with your prayers."

She then knelt down and repeated the psalm "*Miserere mei, Deus*" in English. On rising, she turned to Feckenham

and said, "God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching end." *

Sir John Brydges's brother was standing close by, and Jane turned and gave the little prayer-book to him to present to the Lieutenant as her last token of friendship. Thus did this unselfish, noble-minded, and lovely woman think of others even whilst the terrors of a horrible death were just before her.

With the help of her two gentlewomen she prepared herself for the executioner by letting down her hair and uncovering her neck; then, tying over her eyes a white handkerchief, she knelt down and exclaimed, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!" and placed her head upon the block.

There was a pause of a few seconds, then the axe fell, and the spirit of this noble woman, the victim of the ambition of her family, and of the bigotry of Mary and her advisers, winged its way to her Redeemer in Heaven!

Let me just say a few words in reference to her last speech. It was quite evident that, remembering the triumph of the priests in reference to her father-in-law's dying in the Romish faith, she was most anxious that no such representations should be put forth in reference to herself. Therefore she distinctly stated that she "looked to be saved by none other means but the mercy of God and the merits of the blood of His only Son, Jesus Christ"; thereby ignoring the intercession of saints and works of supererogation. Also she asked them to pray for her while alive, which could only mean her utter disbelief in purgatory and prayers for the dead.

I must now return to poor Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk. As I mentioned before, he had a few

* Howard, page 383.

days before his daughter's death been conducted to the Tower by Lord Huntingdon. On the 17th of February he was taken to Westminster to be tried by his peers, when he was found guilty and condemned. By a strange and ominous circumstance in the course of the events, Lord Arundel was the presiding judge, who was the brother of the lady to whom Suffolk had been betrothed, if not really married, before he espoused Lady Frances, the niece of Henry VIII. and mother of Lady Jane Grey. The annulling of which betrothal or marriage I have before mentioned cost the Duke, then Marquess of Dorset, a large sum of money. Some ascribe the condemnation of Suffolk to Arundel's desire to avenge his sister, but of that I do not find any evidence. On Friday, 23rd of February, 1554, at nine o'clock, the Duke was brought from the Tower to a scaffold on Tower Hill, accompanied by Dr. Weston, a Papal priest, in direct opposition to the Duke's wishes, who did all he could to prevent his attending him.

On reaching the scaffold the Duke said: "Masters, I have offended the Queen and her laws, and therefore am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient; and I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men; beseeching you all to bear me witness that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by His blood only, Who died for me, and all them that do truly repent, and stedfastly trust in Him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God that He may receive my soul." Then he desired all men to forgive him as the Queen had done, and kneeling down he repeated the psalm "*Miserere mei, Deus*" to the end; after which, holding up his hands and looking up to heaven, said, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*" Rising from his knees, he delivered his cap and scarf to the executioner, who kneeled down and asked the Duke's



HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

From a Painting by Gheerwelts.

In the Collection of the Marquess of Salisbury.

forgiveness, who replied, "God forgive thee as I do, and when thou doest thine office, I pray thee do it quickly, and God have mercy upon thee." Then he tied a handkerchief over his eyes and again kneeled down, and having said the Lord's Prayer, exclaimed, "Christ, have mercy upon me," and laid his head upon the block, which the executioner severed from his body at one blow.

I am indebted to Holinshed for this last scene in the Duke's life,* who gives the following opinion of his character; and as he was almost contemporary with him, we may, I think, trust to his fairness. After the above description of the execution, he says:—

"Such was the end of the Duke of Suffolk, a man of high nobility by birth and of nature, to his friends gentle and courteous; more easy indeed to be led than was thought expedient. Of stomach nevertheless stout and hardy, hasty, and soon kindled, but pacified straight again, and sorry if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seem to bear. Upright and plain in his private dealings; no dissembler, nor well able to bear injuries, but yet forgiving and forgetting the same, if the party would seem but to acknowledge his fault and seek reconciliation. Bountiful he was and very liberal, somewhat learned himself and a great favourer of those who were learned, so that to many he showed himself a very Mæcenas. As free from covetousness as void of pride and disdainful haughtiness of mind; more regarding plain-meaning men than claw-back flatterers; and this virtue he had, he could patiently bear his faults told him by those whom he held in credit for their wisdom and faithful meaning towards him, although sometimes he had the hap to reform himself thereafter. Concerning his last offence, for which he died, it is to be supposed he rather took in hand that unlawful enterprise through others, persuasions than of his own motion for any malicious ambition in himself."

In 1852 the late Lord Dartmouth was inspecting the vaults of his ancestors under our church when he came across something that might have been a basket filled with sawdust; on examining it he found it to contain

* "*Chronicles of England*" (edition 1587), page 110.

a head in a remarkable state of preservation. I think it most probable that it was oaken sawdust, which, acting as an antiseptic, had not only preserved the head from decay, but had so mummified it that the features have remained sufficiently perfect for anyone acquainted with the Duke's likeness to recognise him; and, indeed, the late Sir George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, thought that he found the features to agree well with those of the Duke in Lodge's Portraits. I think it possible that the executioner was bribed to bring the head secretly to the church, and place it in the vault where it was found; and if the sawdust in the basket was that of oak, it would really tan the skin of the face to leather in the most natural way imaginable. The hair of the head all came away with the sawdust. The basket had quite perished.

It will be seen by the portrait I give on page 181 that the Duke wore a long beard, but this seems from the short hairs that remain to have been shaved off on the morning of the execution. Some think that there are signs upon the neck of two strokes of the axe, but this may be only the shrivelling of the skin: the vertebra appears to me to have been cut clean through with one stroke. I was twice offered a thousand pounds for this head, and an American gentleman said he would write me a cheque for £500 at once if I would let him have it. This, however, could not be, and the Bishop of London felt that no faculty could be granted for its sale, although at that time the money would have been very useful in the restoration of the church, which I was then contemplating doing. I trust that, now I am about leaving the church, this interesting relic will be committed to the care of the officials of the Tower, where it may be seen by all. I have had a photograph taken of the head, but some of my friends have advised me not to insert it in the work as it is

so ghastly, but a copy may be obtained from Mr. Richard Thomas, 41, Cheapside, who has my permission to supply copies of any of the illustrations to those desiring them. The portrait on page 181 is from a print in the British Museum, taken from the picture in Lord Salisbury's collection, of which Mr. R. C. Brown, a few years since, gave me a photograph to hang up in our vestry.

Thus ends the romantic and tragical story of the Duke and his noble-minded daughter Jane.

VII.

Bishop Barlow and the Continuity of
Anglican Orders.



ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

From a Painting by Lyne.

III.

Bishop Barlow and the Continuity of Anglican Orders.

I HAVE mentioned that the Abbey was given to the See of Bath and Wells as a London residence for its bishops in perpetuity; this will afford me an opportunity of entering into an interesting discussion in reference to Bishop Barlow, who occupied the Abbey, and about whom so many wrong impressions have been entertained.

Not long ago I bought in Paternoster Row, at the Roman Catholic book dépôt, a pamphlet with the title, "Was Barlow a Bishop?" This pamphlet endeavours to prove that Barlow was never consecrated as a bishop, and therefore had no canonical authority to consecrate Archbishop Parker, and consequently the continuity was broken, and all those whom the Archbishop consecrated had not really received that rite. Another pamphlet I met with stated that Barlow was a bad man, and of low origin. I think I shall be able to prove the reverse of all this, viz. :—

1. That he was duly consecrated.
2. That he was not of low origin, but of a very ancient family.
3. That he was a good man in his public and private relations, and therefore that these statements are untrue.

I must, however, first say a little about Bishop Barlow's predecessor,

BISHOP KNIGHT,

who held the bishopric of Bath and Wells for six years,

viz. from 1541 to 1547, and during that time occupied the Abbey.

William Knight was born in London in 1476, and entered Winchester School as a scholar when eleven years of age, and at fifteen he proceeded to New College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow two years afterwards. He resided there as such for two years, and then at the early age of nineteen went to Court and became one of the secretaries of Henry VII.*

When Henry VIII. came to the throne, he retained Knight at Court and sent him on several embassies of importance, in conducting which he so much pleased the King that he gave him many gifts from the treasury. This especially happened when he was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian in 1514, on which occasion he managed matters so well that, besides other favours, he was granted by royal letters patent a coat-of-arms: in token of reward, it was said, for the many services he had done for the English king in exposing his life to danger and wearing it out in continual labours for him. These arms were granted to him by the name and title of William Knight, Prothonotary of the Apostolical seat and Ambassador from King Henry VIII. to Maximilian, and they are recorded in the Heralds' College thus: "*Per fess Or and Argent a rose irradiated, Gules therefrom issuant two griffons heads endorsed Sable.*" The arms upon a south window of the refectory of New College, Oxford, said to be those of Knight, differ from this description in several details, but we may depend upon it that those recorded in the Heralds' College are correct.

In 1515 Dr. Knight was styled Chaplain to the King, and in that year was made Dean of the Collegiate Church of Newark, Leicestershire. The duties of these offices

* Wood's "*Athenae Oxoniensis*," vol. ii., col. 75.

were, however, performed by deputies, for the King sent him with Sir Edward Poynings to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles V., to renew the league of 9th February, 1505. They had a conference with Tunstal at Bruges, and an audience with Charles at Bergen-op-Zoom. Knight stayed in Flanders for the rest of the year, and, like most of Henry's servants, found himself in pecuniary straits. On his return to England the next year he was collated to a Prebendal Stall in the Cathedral of Lincoln; but he was sent out again on a second embassy to the Emperor, in company with the Earl of Worcester.

As one of Henry's chaplains and clerk of the closet, Knight was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. In 1522 he was collated to the archdeaconry of Chester, and the next year to that of Huntingdon, and later on to that of Richmond. Also when in Rome on the King's business he was made a Canon of Westminster, where also he had a Prebendal Stall in St. Stephen's Chapel. Besides which he had the rectory of Romald Kirk, in Yorkshire. Thus he held at the same time three archdeaconries, one canonry, two Prebendal Stalls, one rectory, and the deanery of a Collegiate Church. To us it seems passing strange that a man could consent to become such a pluralist when he knew that he could not fulfil a tithe of the duties connected with so many offices, but it was a customary thing in those times for any favourite of the sovereign to receive numerous preferments. It will be remembered that Dr. Clerk had quite as many church appointments, and even more. I see by a note in Strype that when Knight was ambassador from Henry to Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries, that the Burgomaster of Antwerp complained to him that some gunpowder which the English merchants had provided for the King had been laid up in the English

residence, to the danger of the whole town; Knight most graciously consented to its being removed to a strong tower suited for its preservation and theirs.

Henry, having made Knight his secretary, he determined in 1527 to send him in that capacity to Rome to promote his divorce from Catherine. He pleaded with the King not to send him, as he was getting old and losing his sight. Henry insisted, however, and Knight started off, meeting Wolsey at Compiègne, and by his direction went on to Venice to watch for an opportunity to obtain access to the Pope, Clement VII., who was then a captive. The journey was a dangerous one, from the adverse disposition of the Spaniards; for though he managed to get a safe conduct, he was nearly murdered at Monterotundo, and when he entered Rome all that he could do was to send in his letters of credence with a minute of what the King wished for. Knight was not so successful in this mission as he had been in previous ones, but we find him still in favour with Henry, who sent him instructions through Gardiner to proceed to Paris, where for two months, with Sir John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, he was ambassador.

In June, Suffolk and Fitzwilliam joined him, and on the 30th Knight, Tunstal, Moore, and Hacket arranged the celebrated Treaty of Cambray. Several other matters of importance were conducted with much ability by Knight, who continued to retain the goodwill of the King, which is the more surprising when we consider that he threw over such valuable and eminent servants as Wolsey, More, and Cromwell. As a favourite at Court he attended most of the State ceremonies, and I find a notice of his being present at the christening of Edward VI. (1537).

After the death of Dr. Clerk, in 1540, Knight was nominated in his place to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in reference to which I had heard that he was

consecrated in our little church, but thought there might be some mistake in the statement, it being so unusual a thing. After some search in the British Museum Library I found at last in Strype's "*Memorials of Cranmer*" this paragraph, relating to May 29th, 1541 :

"May 29 being Sunday, William Knight was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, by Nicholas Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of the Archbishop's letters to him, assisted by Richard Suffragan of Dover and John Suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the said Bishop of Bath's House, situate in the Minories, Aldgate."

Strype wrote this in 1693, two hundred and five years ago, and doubtless obtained his information from an authentic source. It is further interesting because the paragraph shows that the church was at that time the private chapel of the Bishop's residence, which residence, as I have shown, was the Abbey originally built by the Queen of Navarre, and given to the See of Bath and Wells as a London residence for its bishops. It is further interesting to note from this, that as our church was formerly the chapel of the Abbey, in all probability it was built at the same time, though I believe it was not called Holy Trinity until after the dissolution of the monasteries.

On being appointed to the bishopric, Dr. Knight resigned all his other preferments, but he enjoyed his episcopal honours and dignities for only six years, as he died September 29th, 1547.

By his will he left £100 for conveying his body from London to Wells, to be interred in the Cathedral. This was done, and he was buried under a pulpit which he had erected in his lifetime, and is still there, standing against a great column on the western side, and adjoining a beautiful chantry chapel which, says Godwin, "hee caused

to be built for his tombe." It consists of a basement and a superstructure fronted with pilasters panelled, surmounted by an entablature, on the frieze of which is the following inscription in Roman capitals:

"PREACHE THOU THE WORDE BE FERVENT IN SEASON
AND OVT OF SEASON REPROVE, REBVKE, EXHORT, IN ALL
LONGE SVFFERYNG & DOCTRYNE. 2 TIMO."

In front are the Bishop's arms.* It was rather a singular idea for a man to erect a pulpit for his future sarcophagus, and Godwin represents Bishop Knight as having improved upon the motto, "*Oportet episcopum prædicantem mori.*" In conjunction with Dean Wooleman, he erected a market-house at Wells, and upon a cross near to it are these words:—

"AD HONOREM DEI OMNIPOTENTIS ET COMMODUM PAUPERUM
MERCATORUM WELLIÆ FREQUENTANTIUM, IMPENSIS GULIELMI KNIGHT
EPISCOPI ET RICHARDI WOOLEMAN HUIUS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS
OLIM DECANI, HIC LOCUS ERECTUS EST. LAUS DEO, PAX VIVIS,
REQUIES DEFUNCTIS. ANN. DOM. 1542." †

This, then, is the short history I have to give of Bishop Knight, the second occupant of the Abbey as a place of residence; and my readers will, I am sure, quite understand that I feel a personal interest in this man, from the circumstance that he was consecrated in Holy Trinity Church. Now I must proceed with the history and circumstances connected with

BISHOP BARLOW,

who was the third resident Bishop in the Abbey. I have already told my readers of the pamphlet I purchased in

* Britton's "Wells Cathedral," page 112.

† "This place was erected to the honour of Almighty God and for the use of poor traders frequenting Wells, at the expense of William Knight Bishop and Richard Wooleman, formerly Dean of this Cathedral Church. Praise to God, peace to the living, rest to the dead. Ann. Dom. 1542."

Paternoster Row, at the Roman Catholic dépôt, and which expresses the opinion of a large number of eminent Papists who believe that Barlow was never consecrated, and that nevertheless he officiated at the consecration of Archbishop Parker. I trust, in the following narrative, to be able to clear away this misconception, and so to reassure those Protestants who are troubled with anxiety on the matter.

Let me, however, first give a short history of this prelate which I have gleaned from a number of sources, of whose authority I think there can be no doubt. Of the date and place of his birth we have no direct information, some supposing that he was born in Essex; but for this they have no good reason, as I shall presently show that his father was a country esquire living on his estate at Barlow,* in Lancashire, when the future bishop was a lad; it is therefore very probable that he was born there. I think the supposition in reference to Essex arose from the fact that he was bred a Canon regular of the order of St. Austin, in the Monastery of St. Osyth, Essex. He was also partly brought up among those of his order in Oxford, where it is said he became a doctor in the theological faculty, but of this Cooper could find no record. He was afterwards made the Prior of Blackmore, and we may assume that he would not have been made a prior before he was twenty-five, so that he might have been thirty on resigning it in 1509, when he was appointed by the Bishop of London to be Prior of Typtre in Essex. Six years afterwards he exchanged this priory for that of Lees in the same county, where he appears to have remained nine years, and then in 1524 became Prior of Brome hill in Norfolk. The next year he was appointed Rector of Great Cressingham, obtaining from the Pope a dispensation to hold that benefice together with his priory.

* Now, I think, called Barlow-Moor, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Manchester.

It will be remembered that I gave an account of Wolsey's having suppressed forty monasteries, so that their revenues might form endowments for his college at Oxford. Bromehill was one of those thus confiscated, which greatly incensed Barlow against the Cardinal, and induced him to adopt Lutheran opinions; he, moreover, wrote several works against the then existing Church Establishment, the titles of which were:—

1. "THE TREATYSE OF THE BURYALL OF THE MASSE."
2. "A DIALOGUE BETWENE THE GENTYLLMAN AND HUSBANDMAN."
3. "THE CLYMBYNGE UP FRYERS AND RELIGIOUS PERSONS, PORTRED WITH FIGURES."
4. "A DESCRIPTION OF GODE'S WORDE COMPARED TO THE LYGHT."
5. "A CONVICYOUS * DIALOGUE AGAINST SAYNT THOMAS OF CANTERBERYE."

This last was not published, and the rest were all prohibited the next year.

In the dialogue, Barlow reflected bitterly on Wolsey for the dissolution of the monasteries, but for some unexplained cause he afterwards thought proper to change his opinions, for there is a letter extant from him to the King which has no date, but in which he acknowledges that in his publications and writings he had "wrapped himself in manifold errors and detestable heresies against the doctrine of Christ and determination of Holy Church." †

We shall see presently that this recantation was not from his heart, though I do not think it should be put down to cowardice, or even entirely to worldly policy; for we must remember that when a man throws over the doctrines and sentiments that have been instilled into his mind from early childhood, there will come occasions when his heart and affections will return to his first and early faith.

* An abusive dialogue, etc.

† Cotton MSS., Cleo. E. iv., fol. 146.

In 1531 there was published an anti-Lutheran book, with the title, "A Dialogue describing the original Ground of these Lutheran fashions and many of their Abuses." This was attributed to Barlow, and appears to have been republished about the time, or soon after, that he wrote his recantation to the King. Whether Henry was pleased with his letter and this work, or whether he thought highly of him on other grounds, it is certain that Barlow became a great favourite at Court, and preferments were lavished upon him. He owed also not a little to Anne Boleyn, who took much interest in him, and who in 1534 advanced him to the Priory of St. Thomas the Martyr in Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire. When there, he again advocated the doctrines of the Reformation, and his sermons made him many enemies.

The Black Friars of Haverford West, at the instigation of Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, presented articles against Barlow, who appealed to the Privy Council, by whom it would appear that he was in some measure countenanced. Shortly afterwards, one of his servants' houses was ransacked by the Bishop's officers, who found there the New Testament and certain expositions of portions of Scripture, upon which the Bishop caused the Mayor of Tenby to commit the man with his wife to prison. This roused Barlow to still greater action, and he wrote to Secretary Cromwell a letter which we also have in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and will be found in the index under this title—*MS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv., fol. 128*. As it is a long letter, I will only give the substance of it without using Barlow's singular orthography.

In his opening sentences he says:—

"Whereas the Queen, of her gracious bounty, thought me worthy of the Priorship of Haverford West under her Grace's foundation.

Since the time of my there continual residence, considering the hungry famine of hearing the Word of God and a desolate scarcity of true preachers, I have endeavoured, myself, with no small bodily danger, against Antichrist and all his confederate adherents, sincerely to preach the gospel of Christ whose verity, as it is invincible so is it incessantly assaulted by false perverters; by reason whereof they, which of duty ought to fortify me in maintaining the truth, maliciously have conceived a malevolent mind causelessly to malign against me in such wise that I was forced from their tyranny to appeal to the King his honorable council as plainly appertaineth to the untrue articles falsely contrived by the Black Friars of Haverford West."

Then Barlow goes on to tell all that had befallen his servant to which I have just referred, and he pleads for redress in these words:—

"In consideration whereof it may please your singular goodness to provide a redress, that from the tenour of such tyrannies the King's faithful subject, your poor orator, may peaceably live according to God's laws, without any such unchristian impeachment and cumbrous vexations."

Barlow continues this sort of pleading for some length; then he recounts the vices that he had attacked in these words:—

"And concerning the enormous vices, the fraudulent exactions, the misordered living, and heathen idolatry shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction, which, by sequel, their blind, wilful ignorance do consequently follow. No diocese I suppose more corrupted; none so far, out of France, without hope of reformation, etc. etc."

The next year he was removed from his unruly flock to the rich Priory of Bisham in Berkshire, and was sent, with Lord William Howard, on an embassy to Scotland. The King in his letter to his brother of Scotland, dated Southampton, 3rd October, 1534, terms him: "This right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Mr. Barlowe, Clerke, Pryour of the Monastery of Bisham." Whilst Barlow was

there he wrote to Cromwell a letter in which he gives a good account of the state of Scotland, and concludes with these words :—

“In these parts is no right preaching of God’s word nor scarcely any knowledge at all of Christ’s Gospel, without which neither justice nor good order may prosper. For notwithstanding here be plenty of priests, sundry sorts of religious multitudes of monks, flocking companies of friars, yet among them all so many, there is not a few, no, not one who sincerely preacheth Christ.”

In another letter to Cromwell, without date, he further speaks of the clergy in Scotland in this way :—

“They show themselves in all points to be the Pope’s pestilent creatures, very limbs of the Devil, whose popish power violently to maintain these lying Friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to bluster against thee, verily, with slanderous reproach of us, which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore in confutation of their detestable lies, if I may obtain the King’s licence (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach ; I will not spare for no bodily peril boldly to publish the truth of God’s word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give hearing. And until the word of God be planted among them I suppose their feigned promises shall be finally found frustrate without any faithful effect.”

I think this quotation throws a considerable light upon Barlow’s character, and quite fits in with what Fox says of him, when speaking of his after exile, that he did “constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ’s Gospel.” There is no doubt that Barlow on several occasions showed that he was not a perfect man, and therefore his enemies did not fail to bring his faults to the front, whilst they ignored his virtues.

Whilst engaged in Scotland, he was elected Bishop of St. Asaph on 16th January, 1535, and was confirmed on the 23rd February following.* I shall have much to say

* Cranmer’s Register.

about this consecration presently, about which some considerable difficulties have arisen, because he had the See of St. David's offered him before he had really exercised any episcopal functions at St. Asaph. This see he accepted, and was confirmed as Bishop of St. David's, at Bow Church, 21st April, 1536; after which he returned to Scotland.

The object of this embassy was to induce James V. to embrace the same views as Henry, in reference to the Pope's supremacy, and I have been greatly interested to find notes of Barlow's address to the Scottish King in the Manuscript Department* of the British Museum, which seem to have been written by his secretary; but there is a copy in the Rolls Office written in his own hand.

After addressing James as most mighty, puissant and virtuous prince, etc. etc., he tells him that "he has certain special matters to declare to him secretly from the King his uncle, who both as a natural cousin and a loving father tenders him prosperity like his own." Barlow then goes on to say:—

"God has revealed to Henry by study and consultation with famous clerks the thral captivity under the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome and his ungodly laws, by which he and many of his progenitors have been abused; and he wishes to persuade King James. What can be more intolerable to a Christian prince than to be a king only in name, defeated by his righteous jurisdiction in his own realm? What can be worse for true subjects than to be slaves of a foreign potentate? What realm is there but the Bishop of Rome has so planted his kingdom therein that he and his crafty creatures were obeyed by princes to whom they ought to have been subjects? If they were thwarted, they bounced out their thunderbolts and cursing fulminations."

Barlow then refers to a number of sovereigns who had been "cruelly vexed" by different Popes whom he named. He adds, with some amount of indignation: "The Bishop

* Cotton MSS., Cleop. iv., page 259.

of Rome has now even put himself in God's place. He sits in the Temple by damnable dispensations, lying miracles, etc." Then he finishes by wishing King James to consider these things, and Henry's desire to allure him to the favourable embracement of God's Word.

Barlow retained this bishopric of St. David's for eleven years, during which time he continued to strive earnestly to put down the superstitions and evil doings that he saw around him. In another letter to Cromwell, the original of which is also in the British Museum,* he gives us some idea of these struggles. After some opening sentences relating to other matters, he says:—

"Furthermore I admonished the canons of Saint David's according to the King's injunctions, in nowise to set forth feigned relics for to allure the people to superstition, neither to advance the vain observance of unnecessary holy days abrogated by the King's supreme authority. On Saint David's day the people wilfully solemnising the feast, certain relics were set forth which I caused to be sequestered and taken away, detaining them in my custody until I may be advertised of your Lordship's pleasure. The parcels of the relics are these Two heads of silver plate, enclosing two rotten skulls stuffed with putrified clouts. Also two arm bones and a worm eaten book covered with silver plate."

Barlow then goes on to tell Cromwell of a sermon preached in his Cathedral before the Canons and some 300 or 400 people, which he thought was ungodly in its tone and very misleading to the people. He does not name the preacher, but speaks most severely of the slumbering negligence of the Canons in allowing it.

Whilst Barlow was in Wales, in 1538, doing his best to destroy idolatrous relics, there was an image sent up to London from St. Asaph which had been much venerated by the Welsh people. I think that Barlow might probably have had something to do with the seizure, though it was

* Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. iv., fol. 141.

Ellis Price who brought the matter before Cromwell, and whose autograph letter upon the subject we also have in the British Museum.* Fox † gives an interesting description of its being publicly burnt at Smithfield. After relating the execution of a Friar named Forrest, who would not acknowledge the supremacy of the King, he goes on to say :—

“In the place of execution there was a scaffold prepared for the King’s most honourable council and the nobles of the realm to sit upon, to grant pardon if he had any spark of repentance in him ; where the Right Reverend Father Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, declared Forrest’s errors and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance, but he was so froward that he neither would hear nor speak. A little before the aforesaid image from Wales, called Darvell Gatheren, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid Friar was set on fire, which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them that this image should set a whole forest on fire ; which prophecy took effect, for it set this Forrest on fire and consumed him to nothing.”

Besides his work in Wales, Barlow took part in general ecclesiastical politics. He signed the articles drawn up in 1536. He shared in composing “The Institutions of a Christian Man,” and was conspicuous among his order for the translation of the Bible. In 1537 he surrendered to the King’s Commissioners his priory of Bisham, which he still held *in commendam*, besides his bishopric, and I believe he thus resigned it before he was requested, as an example to others, being convinced of the corrupt condition of a large number of monasteries.

As I have said, Barlow continued Bishop of St. David’s for eleven years, during which time he was involved in serious quarrels with his turbulent and reactionary chapter,

* Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. iv., fol. 55.

† “Acts and Monuments,” vol. v., page 180.

who sent up a series of articles addressed to the President of the Council of Wales, denouncing him as a heretic. Nevertheless he carried on a constant warfare against relics, pilgrimages, saint-worship, and the like. In despair of forcing his convictions on the wild and remote district round St. David's, he sought to transfer his see to the central and populous Carmarthen, and succeeded in removing the Palace to Abergwili, a village within two miles of Carmarthen, which remains the Bishop of St. David's Palace to the present day.

Perhaps one of the most creditable parts of Barlow's career in Wales, was his zeal for introducing education into his diocese. He aspired to maintain a free grammar school at Carmarthen, and succeeded in obtaining the grant of some suppressed houses for the foundation of Christ's College, Brecon, and for a grammar school also there. That he should have been able to retain his position during the reactionary end of Henry VIII.'s reign is remarkable, for he maintained that confession was not enjoined in Scripture; that there were but three sacraments; that laymen were as competent to excommunicate heretics as bishops or priests, and that purgatory was a delusion.

I find in "*Wriothesley's Chronicle*," page 1, vol. ii., this account of a noted sermon preached by Barlow against images in the first year of Edward VI. :—

"The xxvii daie of November being the first Soundaie of Advent preached at Poules Cross Doctor Barlowe, Bishopp of Sainct Davides, where he showed a picture of the resurrection of our Lord made with vices * which putt his legges out of sepulchree and blessed with his hand, and turned his heade; and there stode afore the pulpitt the imag of our Ladie which they of Poules had lapped in serecloth which was hid in a corner of Poules Church and found by the

* Movable joints.

Visitors in their visitation. And in his sermon he declared the great abomination of idolatrie in images with other fayned ceremonies contrarie to Scripture to the extolling of Godes glorie and to the great comphort of the audience. After sermon the boyes brooke the idolls in pieces."

This sermon excited considerable interest, and the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, being much pleased with it, promoted him to the See of Bath and Wells, 3rd February, 1548, in consequence of which, our Abbey came into his possession as a London residence, on which account I am writing this short biographical sketch of his career.

If the reader will refer back to page 97 he will find a quotation from a deed which confers the Abbey upon Dr. Clerk, and all the Bishops of Bath and Wells who should succeed him, for a London residence. I see, however, that the Rev. Dr. Fly, in the paper he read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1803, and the Rev. Thomas Hill, another incumbent of our church, who wrote a short history of it in 1851, both say that it does not appear on what account the Abbey reverted to the Crown after having been thus granted. This point, I think, I can quite clear up; for when Bishop Barlow took possession of the Abbey he did not retain it long, but exchanged it with the Duke of Somerset for other property, who presented it to his brother, Lord Seymour; that nobleman was afterwards attainted for high treason and beheaded; so that his property would be forfeited, and this Abbey would again be in the gift of the Crown.

Soon after Barlow entered upon this bishopric he had a violent dispute with the Dean, John Goodman, whom he deprived of the deanery. The Dean attempted to prove Barlow guilty of *præmunire*, the deanery being a royal donative, and to some extent he succeeded in this action

against Barlow, but the King pardoned the Bishop and did not restore the Dean.

I must now pass over a few years to the accession of Mary (1553), when Barlow was thrown by her into the Tower. Some writers say that Barlow resigned his bishopric, whilst others tell us that he was deprived of it. This difference arose from its stating in the *cong   d'  lire* for Bourne to succeed him, dated 19th March, that the see was vacant by the resignation of the former bishop; whereas in the election that was made on the 28th March it is said that the see was vacant by the removal or deprivation of their former bishop. Pocock, however, who edits Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*," says in a note:—

"It is most certain that Barlow did resign. For in the aforesaid register is a commission granted to certain persons by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to act during the vacancy of the See of Bath and Wells, which is there said to be void 'per liberam et spontaneam resignationem Willielmi Barlowe ultimi episcopi et pastoris ejusdem' [by the free and spontaneous resignation of William Barlowe its last Bishop and Pastor]."

Pastor Hooker also says he resigned because he was a married prelate.

In the same year his enemies reprinted a book he had written against the Lutherans, which was republished evidently to injure him with the Protestants by calling to remembrance his former fierce attack upon them. Barlow fled to Germany, where Fuller says he became minister to an English congregation at Ebden. I have already noticed Fox's opinion of his preaching there. On the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and was shortly afterwards elected Bishop of Chichester, the royal assent to which was given 18th December, 1559, and he was confirmed 20th December, three days after the consecration of Archbishop Parker.

I will now enter upon the interesting discussion

mentioned at the commencement of this biographical sketch, and which has been carried on for many years under the title, "Was Barlow a Bishop?" It has been contended, as I have said, that he was never consecrated; and as he presided at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, the latter also was not canonically consecrated, and consequently all the succeeding bishops and clergy have not really been consecrated, for the continuity of Apostolic succession was broken in the case of this first Protestant Archbishop,* who chose for the president of his consecration a man who had never received the sacred rite. Those preferring this charge base it upon two circumstances. First: That though all the records in reference to Barlow's appointment to the bishopric of St. Asaph have been preserved in the registry of Cranmer, yet the actual notification of the act of consecration cannot be found. Secondly: They say that both Cranmer and Barlow had stated that the simple appointment by the monarch was enough, without episcopal consecration, to constitute a lawful bishop. These two points I will now endeavour to consider.

First, then, the registers of Archbishop Cranmer are a collection of various parchment documents differing in size and character, all of which were not bound together until long after Cranmer was cruelly burned to death. These documents are in several respects imperfect, and it would be a marvellous thing if they were otherwise; for when Mary had him hustled off to the Tower, he would not have much opportunity of putting his papers and deeds in order. Be this, however, as it may, a number of important records are missing, *besides that relating to the consecration of Barlow*. Dean Hook, in his "*Lives of the Archbishops*," says †:—

* Though Cranmer became a Protestant he was not consecrated as such.

† Vol. ix., page 240.

“Out of the record of eleven translations in Cranmer’s registry five are wanting, and of forty-five consecrations at which Cranmer presided, the record of no less than *nine* are not to be found. Of these nine which are wanting there is no reference whatever of any kind to three. Five of them, of which Barlow’s is one, have the records preserved up to the act of confirmation, the actual consecration being omitted or taken for granted. The registry of St. David’s has also been destroyed.”

Had Barlow’s name been the only one omitted, then his traducers would have had, perhaps, a little foundation for their accusation; but being one out of nine, the whole of this part of their argument falls to the ground. It is also a circumstance of not a little interest that the registry of Gardiner’s consecration cannot be found, especially as he was not only a Roman Catholic bishop, but one of the most fierce and cruel persecutors of the Protestants during the reign of Mary.

With regard to the second charge which the opponents of Barlow assume to be a reason for the omission. We must first ask them to show us perfectly reliable evidence that Cranmer and Barlow did really say what they state, viz. “that the simple appointment by the monarch was enough without episcopal consecration to constitute a lawful bishop.” And, secondly, that if they did so, when asked by Henry to make some such assertion, it must be remembered that they were both strongly opposed to the supremacy of the Pope in England and in favour of that of the King. It does not follow, however, because they made a flattering speech to the King that they would both have ran the risk of incurring the severest penalties of præmunire, as they would have done if Barlow had not been consecrated.

In a pamphlet before me, written by Mr. Serjeant Bellassis, a gentleman of the Roman Catholic faith, I find he thinks that he has clearly proved that Barlow

was not a bishop, and therefore that the whole Anglican hierarchy falls to the ground. Let me, however, give a quotation from a great Roman Catholic historian, viz. Dr. Lingard. The passage I am about to quote appeared in a letter to the *Birmingham (Roman) Catholic Magazine* in the year 1834. He had been attacked for permitting himself to be misled by false and spurious documents with respect to the consecration of Barlow, when in vindication of himself upon this point he demands of his accuser:—

“Why, I will ask, are we to believe that of all the Bishops who lived in the long reign of Henry VIII. Barlow alone held and exercised the episcopal office without episcopal consecration? He was elected, and his election was confirmed in conformity with the statute of the twenty-fifth of that reign. Why should we suppose that he was not consecrated in conformity with the same statute? Was Cranmer the man to incur the penalty of a premunire without cause, or was Henry a prince likely to allow the law to be violated with impunity? The act had been passed in support of the King's supremacy and to cut off all resource to Rome. Most certainly the transgression of its provisions would have marked out Barlow and Cranmer as favourers of the papal authority, and have exposed them to the severest punishment.

“For ten years Barlow performed all the sacred duties and exercised all the civil rights of a consecrated Bishop. He took his seat in Parliament and in Convocation as the Lord Bishop of St. David's; he was styled by Bishop Gardyner ‘his brother of St. David's’; he ordained priests; he was one of the officiating Bishops at the consecration of Dr. Buckly. Yet we are now called on to believe that he was no Bishop, and consequently to believe that no one objected to his votes though they were known on the hypothesis to be illegal; or to his performance of the episcopal functions though it was well known that each such function was a sacrilege! But why are we to believe these impossible, these incredible suppositions? Is there any positive proof that he was no Bishop? None in the world. All that can be said is that we cannot find any positive register of his consecration. So neither can we of many others, particularly Bishop Gardyner. Did anyone call in question the consecration of that Bishop on that account? Why should we doubt the consecration of Barlow and not that of Gardyner? I fear the only reason is this—Gardyner did not consecrate Parker, and Barlow did.”

I will, before going further, make a few comments upon this interesting opinion by Lingard. He says, and very properly so, too, that "Cranmer was not the man to incur the penalties of præmunire without cause. These penalties were very severe, and involved the loss of all civil rights, forfeiture of all lands, goods and chattels, together with imprisonment during the royal pleasure. Barlow would also have committed the same offence for performing the sacred duties of a bishop, and especially for sitting and voting in the House of Lords. Had he dared to do this latter thing his enemies (and he had many) would soon have had him indicted and thrown into prison.

Præmunire is a corruption of the Latin *præmonere*, "to preadmonish or forewarn," and is taken from the words of the writ itself, which runs "'Præmunire facias,' A B," etc. (*i.e.* cause A B to be forewarned), "that he appear to answer the contempt wherewith he stands charged," etc. etc. I find that on an indictment for præmunire a peer could not claim to be tried by his peers. It is also an interesting fact in connexion with the penalties of præmunire that in the Habeas Corpus Act (31 Charles II., c. 2, 1679), the committing any man to prison out of the realm would be an offence liable to præmunire and unpardonable even by the King. In the hands of Henry VIII. præmunire became eventually a lever for the overthrow of papal supremacy. Bishop Bramhall, who wrote upon this matter in 1716, says:—

"It is clear by the records of the House of Lords, that he did sit in Parliament in the 31st of Henry the Eighth in his episcopal habit as a consecrated Bishop, and not being a Bishop of one of the five principal sees he would have had to sit according to the time of his consecration between the Bishops of Chichester and St. Asaph. What boldness, what audacity then it would have been for him to have thus seated himself many times amongst consecrated Bishops whilst he himself had not been consecrated, with all the liabilities of

a writ of præmunire like the sword of Damocles hanging over his head."

There is another point of great interest mentioned by Bishop Bramhall in reference to leases, who says :—

"There is nothing that trieth a Bishop's Title to his Church more than the validity or invalidity of his Leases. If Bishop Barlow had been unconsecrated, all the leases which he made in the Sees of St. David's and Bath and Wells would have been void."

Moreover, his successors would have questioned their validity; but they did not, and hence the fact of his consecration must have been known to them.

I will now give three extracts from the official *Records of Chancery*, in which he would not have been styled "bishop" if he had not been consecrated :

1. "A Grant to the said William Barlow Bishop of St. David's to hold in Commendam with the said Bishoprick the Rectory of Carrow in the County of Pembroke. Dated October 29. 38 Hen. 8."

2. "A Commission for Translation of William Barlow Bishop of St. David's to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells. Dated 3. Feb. 2. Edwd. 6th."

3. "A Commission for the Consecration of Robert Farrer to be Bishop of St. David's, per translationam Willelmi Barlow &c. Dated 3rd July Anno 2 Edw. 6."

What could be more conclusive than these records? Do those who state that Barlow was not consecrated suppose it possible for three separate Commissions in the High Court of Chancery to have been held in reference to these appointments and not to have had before them clear evidence that he had been consecrated? Everyone who knows anything at all about these matters is quite aware that such a thing would have been impossible. The Commissioners must have had before them either the original certificate of his consecration or a certified copy,

otherwise the business of the Court could not have proceeded.

Let me mention another interesting circumstance which seems to be of a conclusive character. In 1616, that is whilst Bishop Barlow's daughter Frances, the wife of the Archbishop of York, was still living, Dr. Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, wrote his work, "*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*," in which he gives a short history in Latin of all the Bishops of the various sees up to his time, and consequently Bishop Barlow is mentioned four times—viz. on page 663, in reference to his being consecrated as Bishop of St. Asaph; on page 614, of his being translated to St. David's; on page 443, of his being translated to Bath and Wells; and on page 562, of his appointment to the See of Chichester. In the particulars he gives of St. Asaph he states that Barlow *was consecrated* on the 22nd February, but as that was not a Sunday or Holy day * the date is probably a misprint for 26th February, which was a Sunday, and his consecration would follow his confirmation in due course, which we know from Cranmer's Register took place on Thursday, the 23rd of February.

The information on page 614 in reference to his translation to St. David's is very explicit:—

"Asaphensis Episcopus Gulielmus Barlow huc translatus est mense April 1536."

"William Barlow, Bishop of Asaph, was translated hither in the month of April, 1536."

Then on page 443, when Bishop Godwin is relating Barlow's translation to Bath and Wells, he says:—

"Gulielmus Barlow S. Theologiæ Doctor, apud S. Osithæ olim Canonicus, in Episcopum Asaphensem consecratus est sub exitium anni 1535. Menevian deinde Aprili sequente translatus, sedit ibi

* The Prayer-Book requires that a bishop shall be consecrated on a Sunday or Holy day.

loci annos 13 donec videlicet Knighto defuncto, successor in hac Ecclesia designatur. Ad regnum evectâ Mariâ, in Germaniâ profugit ibique exul inopem vitam ut potuit toleravit, donec rerum posita Elizabetha, revocatum, Cicestrensi praecepit Ecclesiæ quam decem annos rexit, annoque 1569, ab hac denique luce migravit et in Ecclesia sua sepultus est."

Of which this is the translation :—

"William Barlow, S., Doctor of Theology at St. Osyth, afterwards a Canon, was consecrated Bishop of Asaph about the end of the year 1535. Next he was translated to St. David's in the following April. He sat there for thirteen years; then truly Knight being dead, he was designated his successor in this see. On Mary being raised to the throne he fled into Germany, and there, as an exile, he passed a needy life as well as he could. Then on the accession of Elizabeth he was recalled and preferred to the diocese of Chichester, which he governed for ten years; and in the year 1569 he departed this life and was buried in his church."

Here, then, we have in few words the whole history of Bishop Barlow written by a bishop who was contemporary with his daughter Frances, which lady was still living thirteen years after Godwin had published his work. This testimony to the consecration of Barlow is the more conclusive as it was written by a Welsh bishop, who would naturally be more able to ascertain the facts relating to the matter.

With regard to the dates, I think that one cause of misunderstanding has been that writers have not quite kept in mind that the present Gregorian Style of the calendar did not come into operation in England until 1752,* previous to which the year commenced on Lady Day; so that when Godwin says "about the end of the

* This was called the Gregorian Style because Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582 issued a bull in which he abolished the use of the ancient calendar and substituted "The New Style," which was not, however, adopted in Protestant countries until much later (in England in 1752); and to the present day it is not used in Russia nor by the Greek Church.

year 1535" it would mean, according to the present style, early in the year 1536.

As all these circumstances may be considered only indirect evidence as to the proper consecration of Archbishop Parker, which took place on Sunday, 17th December, 1559, I will now give direct and conclusive evidence in reference to that consecration. Even supposing that Bishop Barlow had not been consecrated—which I trust has been shown to be a moral impossibility—Archbishop Parker took the greatest care that there should be no break in the chain of continuity, and therefore chose, according to law, three other bishops to take part with Barlow in the solemn rite;—viz. John Scory, the Bishop-elect of Hereford, formerly Bishop of Rochester; Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; and John Hodgkin, the Suffragan Bishop of Bedford. Barlow and Scory, though duly consecrated, were called bishops-elect because they had been deprived of their former sees by Queen Mary, but on Elizabeth's accession had returned to England and had been appointed to Chichester and Hereford respectively. Dean Hook says, with regard to Parker's selection of Barlow, that in doing so he was not above the consideration of worldly influences, for at a time when the courtiers were doing what in them lay to bring the clergy into contempt, he made choice of a man who held a high position in society, was a Privy Councillor, and had been eminent as a statesman and diplomatist.*

The consecration took place in the chapel at Lambeth, which still remains very little changed from what it was in Parker's time, who took due care that the decorations should be suitable for the occasion. The east end was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was covered with crimson cloth. Four sedilia on the south side of the

* "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. ix., page 236.



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

*From a Painting by Zuccherò.
In the Collection of the Marquess of Salisbury.*

chancel were assigned to the Bishops about to take part in the consecration; before each seat was a faldstool covered with a carpet, and with cushions to match. A throne, adorned with hangings and cushions, with a faldstool before it, was placed on the north side of the sanctuary, to be occupied by the Archbishop as soon as he was consecrated.*

The Dean goes on to say it is expedient to note these things, as some writers represent the whole proceedings as having been done in a hole and corner, in a careless and slovenly manner. We may very much doubt whether more care has been taken in the decoration of the chapel at any subsequent consecrations. After giving the names of some of the notables present, Dean Hook and Strype tell us that they assembled at an early hour, between five and six in the morning; for it was customary, not only in the Church of England, but in the churches also of France, Spain, and Italy, for the consecration of a bishop to take place at a very early hour in the morning, because, as the celebration of the Holy Communion forms part of the service and the Holy Communion was received fasting, a service so long as the consecration service, undertaken by elderly men, might have produced exhaustion.

With the exception of Coverdale, who, for some reason not given, appeared only in his cassock such as the English clergy are accustomed to wear,† the Bishops appeared in their episcopal vestments, and the Archbishop-elect in his scarlet robes such as are now worn in Convocation. As they drew near the chapel, the west door was thrown open and they were received by vergers carrying lights before them. When the congregation had taken their places,

* "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. ix., page 24; and Strype's "Life of Archbishop Parker."

† I will give the supposed reason for this a little later on.

morning prayer began, the Archbishop's chaplain, Andrew Pearson, officiating. The sermon was preached, as the reporter stated "not inelegantly," by John Scory, Bishop of Chichester, about to be transferred to Hereford, to which see he had already been elected. His text was from I. St. Peter v. 1: "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder." The sermon ended, the Bishops and their attendants retired to the vestry to array themselves for the Holy Communion. Bishop Barlow, being the celebrant, returned to the chapel wearing over his other robes a silk cope; and in silk copes appeared also Archdeacon Bullingham and Archdeacon Gheast, the chaplains to the Archbishop, who were to be assistants.

The consecration was conducted strictly in accordance with the second ordinal of Edward VI. This ordinal is nearly identical with that which is now in use. But I wish to call attention to a most important circumstance which occurred, and for which Parker doubtless had a most excellent reason. The ordinal directs that the Archbishop or presiding prelate should say, when the elect is kneeling on his knees before him, and all the Bishops present are laying their hands on his head:—

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

This was said not only by Bishop Barlow, the presiding prelate; but when he, with the other Bishops, laid their hands upon the head of Parker, all four with one voice said in *English*:—

"Take the Holy Ghost and remember thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love and soberness, etc." *

* Strype's "Life of Archbishop Parker" (edition of 1711).

Parker could foresee that objections would be raised by Roman Catholics as to the validity of his consecration, and therefore he determined that the holy words of consecration should be said by *all* four bishops in *English*, that every man present might hear and understand what was done, so as to be thereafter witnesses when occasion should require.

The service ended, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by his four bishops, now his suffragans, returned by the north door into the vestry, there to unrobe. When he reappeared he was vested in a white rochet and a chimere of black silk, wearing round his neck a collar or scarf made of precious sabellina furs, commonly called sables. At the west door the Archbishop paused, and gave to his half-brother, John Baker, who was there to congratulate him, a staff which constituted him treasurer; to John Doyle another staff, appointing him as steward of the household; and John Marche in a similar way was made comptroller. The Archbishop then proceeded to the Hall, and Strype tells us that he gave a splendid dinner to his "honourable guests," amongst whom was Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, afterwards Lord High Admiral and created Earl of Nottingham, who acknowledged Archbishop Parker to be of kin, and many years afterwards spoke of the consecration and the large company he met there. Certainly, then, there was no lack of ceremony, nor any desire to conduct the business privately.

The Archbishop most carefully entered in his register the details of his consecration, to which he subjoined this pathetic sentence in Latin:—

"'Heu! heu! Domine Deus, etc.'—*i.e.* Alas! Alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou reserved me? Now I am come into the deep waters, and the floods overflow me, O Lord. I am in trouble: Answer for me; and establish me with Thy free Spirit.

For I am a man and of short time to live. Give me of Thy sure mercies."

Will my reader just compare this authentic narrative of Archbishop Parker's consecration, conducted with all the prescribed solemnities, and the lying fable of the Nag's Head proceeding, put forth many years ago by some Roman Catholics, and believed in by many of them to the present day.

The next thing which seems to me to be of the highest importance to my argument is, that I should show that the three bishops who assisted Bishop Barlow were themselves duly consecrated. Much to my delight, I found, in Strype's "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," printed in 1694, the following notes; and Dr. Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford, confirms them in his "*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*":—

"December 9th, 1537.—John Bishop of London by virtue of Commission Letters from the Archbishop assisted by John Bishop of Rochester and Robert Bishop of St. Asaph consecrated the said Yngworth . . . JOHN HODGKIN Professor of Divinity was consecrated at the same time by the same Bishops as above."

Then further on Strype says:—

"Hodgkin if I mistake not was consecrated Suffragan of Bedford, and was afterwards one of those that assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker."*

Still further on Strype has this note:—

"BISHOPS CONSECRATED.—August 30th, 1551, JOHN SCORY (Ponet† being translated to Winchester) was consecrated Bishop of Rochester at Croydon by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicolas Bishop of London and John Suffragan of Bedford. Miles

* "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," book i., chap. xvi., page 63 of 1694 edition, pressmark 490.

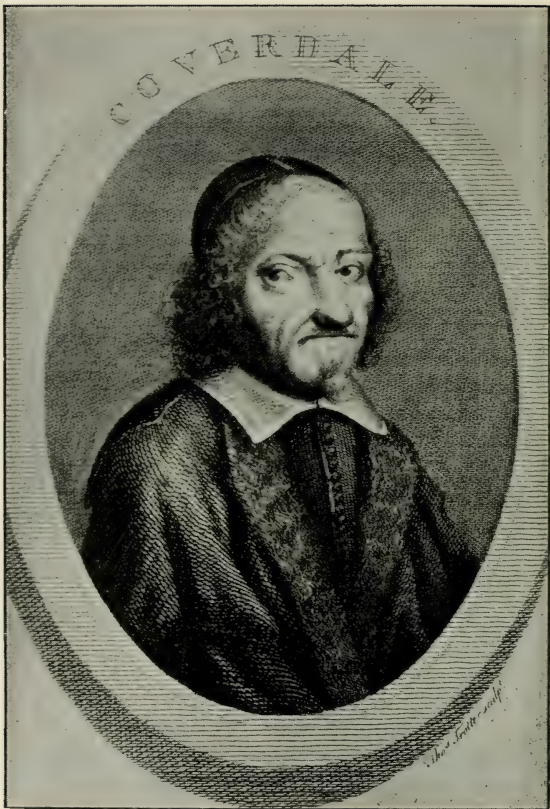
† For Poynet.

Coverdale was at the same time and place, consecrated Bishop of Exon ; all with their surplices and copes and Coverdale so habited also.” *

We see by the above entry that Coverdale was consecrated some eight years before he took part in the consecration of Parker. He had been deprived of his see by Mary, who was intensely angry with him for translating the Bible into English ; and there is no doubt she would have imprisoned him and put him to death, if King Christian of Denmark had not interposed and begged Mary to send him over to him. She at last consented, and Coverdale was received in Denmark with joy and a most cordial welcome. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and biographers are much at variance with regard to whether his old bishopric of Exeter was offered to him or not ; it is very probable that it was ; for in one account of the consecration of Parker he is spoken of as the Bishop-elect of Exeter. In choosing him as one of the consecrating bishops, doubtless Parker felt that it would be a great honour to himself for the first translator of the entire Bible to place upon his head consecrating hands. This great work of Coverdale's will render him eminent for all time ; the first edition appeared in small folio in 1535, of which there is a very perfect and beautiful copy of it in the Library of the British Museum, which I have examined with the deepest interest. The dedication and remarkable blessing pronounced by Coverdale are as follows :—

“ Unto the most victorious Prynce
and oure most gracyous soueraigne Lorde, Kynge Henry the eyght
kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, lorde of Irlond, &c.
Defendour of the Fayth, and under God
the chefe and suppreme
heade of the
Church of Englonde.

* “*Memorials of Cranmer*,” book ii., chap. xxvi.



BISHOP COVERDALE.

From an Old Drawing.

¶ The ryght and iust administracyon of the lawes that God gaue unto Moses and unto Josua : the testimonye of faythfulnes that God gaue of Dauid : the plenteous abundaunce of wysdome that God gaue unto Salomon : the lucky and prosperous age with the multiplicacyon of sede whiche God gaue unto Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be genē unto you most gracyous Prynce, with your dearest iust * wyfe, and most vertuous Pryncesse, Quene Anne. Amen."

In the last page it is stated to be "Prynted in the year of our Lorde M.D.XXXV., and fynished the fourth daye of October." Some copies (of which that in Sion College is one) have "Quene Jane" instead of "Quene Anne." I think this can be accounted for by the probability that the leaf containing the dedication was reprinted with Jane's name, and inserted in its place when Henry married her six months afterwards, viz. on 20th May, 1536.† I find that Coverdale preached on eleven occasions in the church of Holy Trinity, Minories, between 1st November, 1567, and the 18th January following, which furnishes me with another reason for saying thus much of him.

I must now give some account of Scory, who was a native of Norfolk. He was originally a Dominican Friar, but afterwards strongly advocated the Reformation. We find him preaching in Canterbury Cathedral in 1541, when he denounced crosses upon Palm Sunday, holy candles, holy water, ringing of bells during thunder, the mediation of saints, Latin prayers, etc. In 1551, as I have shown, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester. One year after this he was translated to the bishopric of Chichester, which was vacant in consequence of the deprivation of Dr. George Day. On the accession of Mary he was in turn deprived of it, and Day restored. Scory escaped to the Continent and remained there until the death of Mary, when he returned to England. He was not, however, restored

* Just.

† In the Appendix I have given the dedication to Edward VI., which will be found to be the same with the omission of the last clause.

to his See of Chichester, but Elizabeth appointed him Bishop of Hereford, and he was confirmed at St. Mary-le-Bow, the temporalities being restored to him 23rd March, 1560. On 17th December, 1559, he had taken part, as stated, in the consecration of Archbishop Parker.

When Scory fled to the Continent, he wrote a letter addressed to "The Faithful in Prison," exhorting them to suffer persecution with patience, in hopes that God would deliver them and restore the gospel to England. This letter was supposed to have been printed abroad, and copies of it now are believed to be extremely rare. There is a perfect one in the British Museum Library, which I have just been examining with great interest.* Burnet, in his "*History of the Reformation*," says that the only bishops of the Reformation who were alive in 1559, and had returned to this country, were Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale. We see, therefore, another special reason why Parker should have chosen them to consecrate him.

These indisputable facts in reference to the four bishops who consecrated Parker will, I think, settle the case for ever, and I trust that all those who have been the least disturbed in their minds by the absurd attempt to throw doubts upon his consecration may now rest quite satisfied that he was *properly consecrated* by CONSECRATED BISHOPS.

I will now say something of Bishop Barlow's private life, into which we, fortunately, have a most remarkable insight, as I shall presently show. And first let me notice that in one pamphlet it is stated that Barlow was of "low origin." It will be seen presently that the inscription on his daughter Frances's tomb in York Minster states him to have been of "an ancient Welsh family." The Rev. Riland Bedford gives Barlow's arms in his work, "*The Blazon of Episcopacy*," who says he has taken them from

* Pressmark C. 25, b. 14.

MSS. Roll of Edward VI., A.D. 1553. They are Argent, on a chevron Sable, between three crosslets fitchy* of the second, two lions encountering passant guardant of the field. He also mentions that in the Harleian MS., 4199, these arms are to be found with the chevron engrailed, and quartering, Ermine three bars, nebulee sable. These arms are also upon his daughter's tomb in three places, viz. at the top in bold relief, and on two small escutcheons on the capitals of the columns, that on the left having the Barlow arms impaled with the Archbishop's, indicating the marriage of Frances with him, and that on the right has the Barlow arms only.

So many writers have expressed doubts as to Barlow's origin, and even the history given of him by Professor J. F. Tout in "*The Dictionary of National Biography*" has these words: "He was, it is said, a native of Essex, though Fuller was unable to ascertain in what county he was born." Upon this point I hope, however, to throw a little light and shall endeavour to clear away the supposed difficulty writers have had.

I find from Sir Bernard Burke's work on "*Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*" that the Barlow family had enjoyed for many generations equestrian rank prior to its being raised to the baronetcy. Thoresby, in his "*History of Leeds*," gives the Barlow pedigree side by side with that of Archbishop Matthew, and the first name given is Sir Thomas Barlow of Barlow, in the county of Lancaster. Though neither Burke nor Thoresby give the date of this man's birth, it could not have been less than 300 years before Bishop Barlow's time, for there had been twelve previous generations of this family, the heads of seven of which were knights.

Bishop Barlow's great-grandfather was Sir Thomas

* On the tomb they are cross crosslets.

Barlow, knight, and his father was John Barlow, esquire, a gentleman of considerable property, most of which he lost in the time of Henry VII., when he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower for harbouring his brother-in-law Barley and Sir Robert Clifford the night before their departure for the Court of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, which was considered an act of treason, and his whole estate was wrested from him and conferred upon John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, then recently created Lord High Chamberlain of England, while he himself was detained in prison until he fully and legally satisfied the transfer, getting free at last, but with difficulty, from the penalties of high treason. He had four sons and one daughter, of whom Bishop Barlow was the fourth son. His second son Roger, on his father's commitment to the Tower, went over to Spain and was employed, at the recommendation of the Duke of Modena, by the Emperor Charles V. for the discovery of Peru; but having communicated his discovery to Sir Thomas Boleyn, he was ordered by his own sovereign to return home with a promise of preferment. He was afterwards appointed vice-admiral to Lord Seymour, and, but for the death of the King, was to have undertaken an expedition to the East Indies, with three of his Highness's ships from Milford Haven. This brother of Bishop Barlow purchased an estate from the Crown in Pembrokeshire, which he enjoyed for years, and then it passed to his son.

Bishop Barlow's sister Elizabeth went as a companion with the Countess of Oxford into Scotland, and was one of the maids of honour to Margaret, Queen of James IV. She married first, Alexander, the first Lord Elphinstone, who was killed in the battle of Flodden Field with his master, King James IV., 9th September, 1513.* Their son

* Collins's "Peerage," vol. ix.



TOMB OF BISHOP BARLOW'S DAUGHTER,
WIFE OF ARCHBISHOP MATTHEW

See page 224.

Alexander was the second Lord Elphinstone, from whom the present family have descended in a direct line, and therefore this lady (Bishop Barlow's sister) was an ancestress of the present Lord Elphinstone.

Barlow married Agatha, daughter of John Welsbourne, esquire ; and though I cannot find the exact date of the marriage, I think it was about the time that he was promoted to the See of Bath and Wells, viz. 1548. This lady must have been a most estimable woman, from the training she gave her five daughters, all of whom married bishops noted for their learning and piety, and we can be sure also that they received from their father no ordinary literary culture to render them fit for the high stations they all occupied. Before I go further, however, I will give my readers a copy of an inscription upon the tomb of Frances, which is in the Lady Chapel of York Minster, and which furnishes us with the interesting information to which I have just alluded. The following are the words :—

“IN MEMORY OF

FRANCES MATTHEW ; first married to Matthew Parker son to Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury and afterwards to Tobie Matthew that famous Archbishop of this see. She was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, bounty, and indeed in other virtues not only above her sex but the times. One excellent act of her's, first derived upon this church and through it flowing upon the country deserves to live as long as the church itself. The Library of the deceased Archbishop consisting of above three thousand books she gave entirely to the public use of this church. A rare example that so great care to advance learning should lodge in a woman's breast ! But it was the less wonder in her because she was kin to so much learning. She was daughter of William Barlow Bishop of Chichester and in King Henry the Eighth's time ambassador into Scotland, of that antient family of the Barlows in Wales. She had four sisters married to four Bishops one to William

Wickham Bishop of Winchester another to Overton Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield a third to Westphaling Bishop of Hereford a fourth to Day that succeeded Wickham in Winchester. So that a Bishop was her father an Archbishop her father-in-law. She had four Bishops her brethren and an Archbishop her husband. When she had lived seventy-eight years, the 8th of May she changed this life as full of honour as of years Anno Dom. 1629."

This inscription and copy of the tomb I have taken from Drake's "*Eboracum*," because the inscription and figure are very much injured by a fire which took place in the Minster a few years since. When giving a series of lectures there in October, 1895, on the "*Monumental Evidence of the Historical Accuracy of the Biblical Narratives*," the good Dean took me round the magnificent building and gave me a most charming and instructive account of the monuments, when I particularly noticed this one, and was deeply interested in it, though the inscription is now scarcely legible from the effects of the fire. I also found that the volumes alluded to upon this tomb were still in the Minster Library.

This Archbishop Matthew was a renowned scholar, and his large library shows the love he must have had for literature, for such a number of books in King James's reign would have cost a very large sum. He was born in Bristol and completed his education at Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and rose by many steps of preferment first to the archdeaconry of Wells, then to the presidency of St. John's College, Oxford; next as Canon and Dean of Christ Church, then Dean of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of Durham; lastly, he was translated thence to the archbishopric of York. Drake in his "*Eboracum*" has this note:—

"It seems that Dr. Eades, afterwards Dean of Worcester, being a great admirer of the famous Toby Matthews, upon the latter's removal from Christ-church Oxford to the See of Durham, the Doctor intending to go but one day's journey with him, was enticed on by the sweetness of the Bishop's conversation to Durham itself."*

This would have been nearly a week's journey in those days. There is another interesting note in the "*Eboracum*,"† relating to a visit of King James to York :—

"The day after, His Majesty rode in his coach through the city with all his train to Bishop Thorpe where he dined with Toby Matthew Archbishop. On the 13th being Sunday his Majesty went to the Cathedral where the Archbishop preached a learned sermon before him. After sermon ended the King touched about seventy persons for the king's-evil."

This prelate was also in great favour with both Elizabeth and James, and was so remarkable a preacher that even Campion the Jesuit spoke most highly of his oratory. He must also have been an indefatigable preacher, for it appears from an account he kept of his sermons that he preached whilst Dean of Durham 721 discourses, whilst Bishop of Durham 550, and whilst Archbishop of York 721—in all 1,992 sermons. He died at Carwood March 29th, 1628, having occupied the archiepiscopal seat for twenty-two years. This, then, is a short account of Bishop Barlow's daughter Frances and her distinguished husband.

I will now relate a few things in reference to the husbands of the other four sisters. Antoine married William Wickham, the second Bishop of Winchester of that name, who first received his education at Eton, then proceeded to Cambridge, and became a Fellow of King's College; afterwards he was given a Prebendal Stall

* Drake's "*Eboracum*," book i., chap. ix., page 389 (ed. 1736).

† Book i., chap. v., page 134.

at Westminster, and was made a Canon of Windsor; then Dean of Lincoln, and next Bishop of Lincoln, from whence he was translated to the See of Winchester 1594.* But he survived his translation a very short time, and was succeeded by William Day, who had married Barlow's daughter Elizabeth.

Dr. Day was a great scholar who had been brought up in King's College, Cambridge, at which University he took his M.A. degree. Afterwards Queen Elizabeth, who highly esteemed him for his learning and religion, made him Dean of Windsor and Provost of Eton College. These two offices he held for twenty-four years; but the bishopric of Winchester he held for scarcely a whole year. Day was an earnest Protestant preacher, though his brother, the Bishop of Chichester, was a rigid Papist.

Margaret married William Overton, Bishop of Lichfield, who was consecrated on 18th September, 1580, and enthroned 11th November following. He died in the beginning of April, 1609, and was buried in the church of Eccleshall, where there is a tomb bearing his effigy in full length in his episcopal robes. The Bishop of Lichfield's Palace was at that time at Eccleshall, and remained there until 1867. We have in the British Museum Library a beautiful black-letter copy of a sermon preached by him before the judges and justices of Sussex, of which sermon the writer of the preface speaks most highly.

Anne married Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford, whose work, "A Treatise of the Reformation in Religion divided into seven sermons preached at Oxford," we also have in the British Museum Library. It was printed in 1582, four years before he was made a bishop. Though more than 300 years old, it is in excellent condition, and is a most beautiful specimen of black-letter printing. Dr.

* Cassan's "*Lives of the Bishops of Winchester.*"

Westphaling was a Master of Arts of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1555, and afterwards obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He became Rector of Brightwell, in the county of Oxford, and later on a Canon of Windsor. He was consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1586, in which county he had a good estate, and died 1st March, 1601, and was spoken of as a learned divine, a person of great gravity and integrity, and most worthy of his high position.

I have thus shown that the bishops who married Barlow's five daughters were men eminent for their piety and learning, which seems to me to be a most conclusive proof that the statement of the Roman Catholics that Barlow was "a bad man" is a positive untruth. We are bound to judge of a man by the company he keeps; and if the above five men were his intimate friends, as they must have been to have married his daughters, we may be quite sure that they found in him many estimable traits of character; and, as I have said before, his five daughters must have been highly cultured ladies to be chosen for wives by such men.

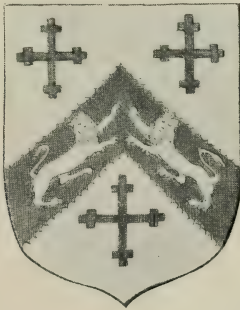
So much for the Bishop's sons-in-law. I will now say a few words about his own sons. It seems that John died before his father, but William lived to make his mark in the world as a scientist as well as a theologian. He became a Prebendary of Winchester, Rector of Easton, Chaplain to Prince Henry, son of James I., and, finally, Archdeacon of Salisbury. Bruce Austin, in "*The Dictionary of National Biography*," says that

"Science is indebted to John Barlow for some marked improvements in the hanging of compasses at sea; for the discovery of the difference between iron and steel for magnetic purposes; and for the proper way of touching magnetic needles and of piercing and cementing loadstones."

These, then, were the children of Bishop Barlow, and the

eminence and piety of his sons-in-law certainly show most clearly what a charming family circle he presided over, and indicate beyond all question that Mrs. Barlow was a lady of the highest culture and piety. She lived to the great age of ninety, dying in 1595, twenty-six years after her husband, who died in 1569, when he must have been over eighty years of age, for though we have not the date of his birth we find him resigning the office of Prior of Blackmoor in 1509, when he could not, one would think, have been less than twenty-four, and if so he would be eighty-four when he died.

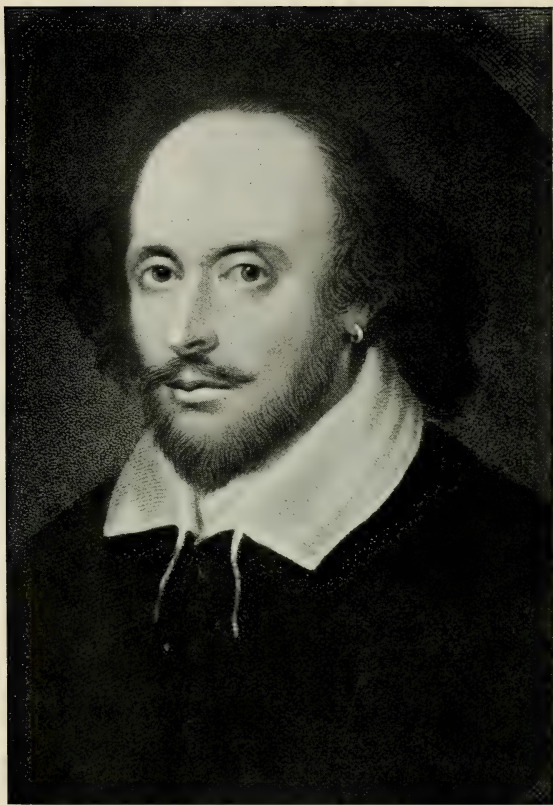
I trust I have cleared this remarkable man of all the aspersions that have been heaped upon him, and think that no apology is needed for going so minutely into the life and doings of Bishop Barlow.



THE BARLOW ARMS

III.

Lucy and Shakespeare.



SHAKESPEARE.

The Chandos Portrait.

See page 245.

III.

Lucy and Shakespeare.

BARON RICHARD DE LUCIE, a sketch of whose life I have given in a former chapter, had married a lady named Rohais, but I cannot find out whether she died before him or not; I should think it most probable that he was a widower when he took upon him the habit of a Canon regular. He had two sons, Geoffrey and Hubert, and two daughters, Maude and Rohais. The elder son died during his father's lifetime, but left a son, Richard, to succeed to the estates, which he seems to have enjoyed for seventeen years, but then dying without children, they devolved upon his Aunt Rohais, the younger daughter of the Baron Richard.

The next baron was Reginald de Lucy. Dugdale says he cannot find out his parentage; but he was supposed to be brother of Angus de Lucy, who at the siege of Acre is said to have added the crosslets to his arms as shown on page 49. He was Governor of the Castle of Nottingham for Henry II. during the rebellion of the Earl of Leicester, and he attended the coronation of Richard I. with the rest of the Barons; doubtless, therefore, he had proved his right to the title.

I will pass by the successors of this man until I come to Baron Anthony de Lucy, who was much mixed up in the wars with Scotland, and was joined in commission with William, Lord Dacre, for defending the counties of

Cumberland and Westmoreland against the incursions of the Scots. The next year he was made Sheriff of Cumberland, and constituted the guardian of that county and of Westmoreland, and was summoned to Parliament soon after as a baron. Amongst other actions of this nobleman was the surprisal and capture of Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, who had gone over to the Scots, whom he sent up to London a prisoner, where he was degraded and sentenced to death. Lord Lucy was subsequently appointed Justice of Ireland and Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and obtained a grant of the honour of Cockermouth with the manor of Hapcastre pertaining thereto.

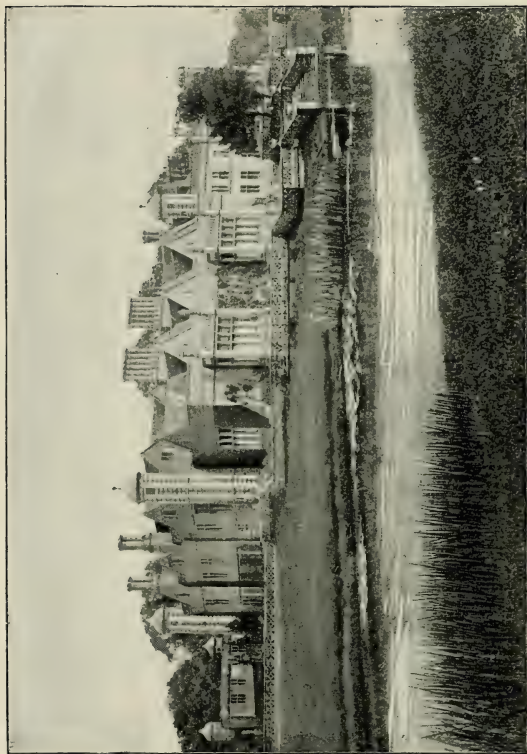
The son of this Baron was Thomas de Lucy, who, prior to the decease of his father, had attained great eminence in arms, particularly in Flanders and at the siege of Loughmaban. He was afterwards employed in defending the northern marches on the borders of Scotland, and had part in the victory of Durham, on which occasion David, King of Scotland, was made prisoner. This baron had a son, Anthony, and a daughter, Maude, who married first the Earl of Angus, and secondly the first Earl of Northumberland. Upon this marriage taking place Anthony settled upon his sister the honour and castle of Cockermouth, with other great estates, on condition that they should descend to the heirs male of the Earl and herself; and in case she should die without issue, then upon Henry, Lord Percy, the renowned *Hotspur*, the Earl's eldest son and heir by his first wife and his heirs male. Also it was stipulated that the said Henry Percy and his heirs should, for ever, bear the arms of Lucy quarterly with those of Percy, viz. "gules three lucies argent," on all shields, banners, etc.

It will be remembered that Sir Henry Percy fought the famous battle of Otterburn, near the Cheviot Hills in

Northumberland, sometimes known by the name of the Chevy Chase, and his bravery was, if possible, still greater at the battle of Shrewsbury, where he performed prodigies of valour, and fell in the midst of the fight (1403). He left a son, Henry, who became the second Earl of Northumberland, and, in accordance with the marriage settlement of his grandfather with Maude Lucy, he inherited her estates and quartered her arms with those of the Percys. It will be seen they are so quartered in the escutcheon of the Duke of Northumberland at the present day, being thus an interesting memento of the historical circumstances I have just mentioned. As Maude died without issue, the family of the Lucys would have become extinct had it not been that Sir Walter de Charlecote married Cecilia, descended from Angus de Lucy, whose two sons William and Stephen assumed the surname of Lucy. This elder son, Sir William de Lucy, Kt., founded the Monastery of Thetford, and from him descended the distinguished family of Lucy, so prominent in the records and annals of England.

I must pass over a number of the succeeding members of the family from want of space, though they were connected with many important historical events. I find their names mentioned many times in Luttrell and the "Calendar of State Papers," and will principally confine myself to the grandfather of the young lady who was buried in my church, viz. Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, about whom much has been written and pictures painted under the supposition that Shakespeare, when a young man, was brought before him on the charge of stealing a deer. This story I do not in the least believe, but will lay both sides of the case before my readers, who, I think, will form the same opinion as I have done.

First, then, there is in Mr. Sidney Lee's work, "*Stratford-on-Avon*," this paragraph:—



GARDEN FRONT OF THE PRESENT CHARLECOTE MANSION.

See page 253.

'It was in the park that was said to have surrounded Charlecote House that Shakespeare, with a band of idle companions, is reputed to have perpetrated his deer stealing, and it was Sir Thomas Lucy in the Hall at Charlecote, before whom he is stated to have been summoned to take his trial for the offence. The story rests upon a note made by a Reverend Richard Davis, of Sandford, Oxfordshire, about a century after the alleged event. Shakespeare, according to Davis, was much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir (Thomas) Lucy, who had him oft whipped and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native county to his great advancement."

I am so glad that Mr. Sidney Lee, in this charming work, calls in question the story that he thus quotes, but I hope presently to show that a more shameful libel could not have been penned. I will, however, proceed to give some further statements upon the matter made by Rowe, who published a complete edition of Shakespeare's works in 1709, with a short biography in which Rowe says:—

"He had by a misfortune, common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and amongst them some that made frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman somewhat too severely, and in order to revenge that illusage made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first, essay of his poetry be lost, yet it is said to have been very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time and shelter himself in London."

Rowe states that the lines were lost, but Oldys says that some doggerel verses on Lucy were current in Stratford in the seventeenth century. The first few lines are as follows:—

"A Parliamente member, a justice of peace,
At home a poor scarecrow, at London an asse,
If lowsie is Lucy, as some volke miscalle it,
Then Lucy is lowsie, whatever befall it.

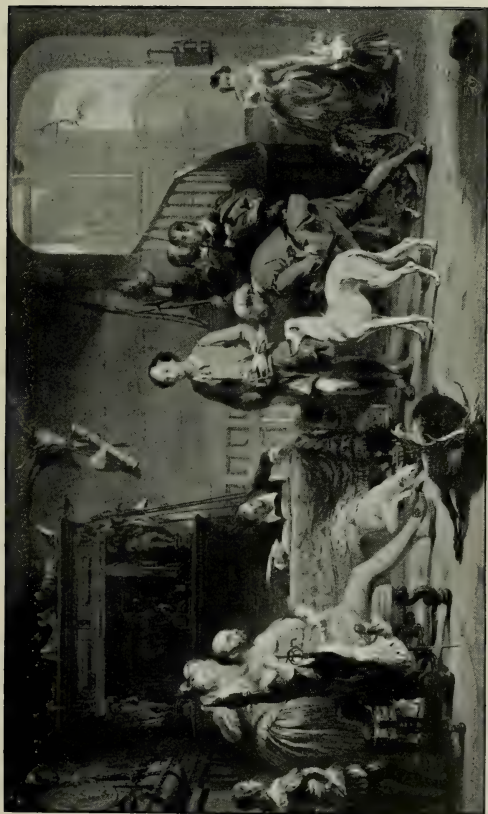
He thinks himselfe greate
Yet an asse in his state
We allow by his eares but with asses to mate."

Capel pretends to give the additional information that Shakespeare placarded Lucy's Park gates with the first stanza of the offending "ballad." It has also been supposed that Shakespeare had a further revenge upon Lucy in his description of Justice Shallow in *Henry IV.* and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. To these statements I will give a reply presently. The next circumstance I must notice in connexion with it is, the picture painted by Sir George Harvey, and engraved by Robert Graves, the description of which, given by the Rev. A. L. Simpson, F.S.A. Scot., is as follows:—

"The subject of this picture is one of peculiar interest, as everything must be which pertains to the personal history of the world's greatest poet. Shakespeare was at this time a young man leading a somewhat desultory life in his native county of Warwick. According to universal tradition the adventure which led to the scene here depicted has been assigned to the cause of his quitting Stratford for London, which he did in 1586 or 1587. Four or five years previous, and when little more than eighteen, he had married Anne Hathaway, the daughter of a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of his native town, by whom in 1583 he had a daughter called Susannah, who along with her mother has been introduced into the present picture.

"According to the story, Shakespeare had been found poaching on the manor of Sir Thomas Lucy, a country gentleman and Justice of the Peace, and had brought down a deer, the same, it is to be presumed, which is here before us. Sir Thomas had a double motive—a personal as well as a public one—to see the law vindicated on this occasion. The examination takes place in a hall of the Baronet's mansion, which has the air of the period, being hung round and adorned with various implements and spoils of the chase. It is by no means a fancy sketch, as the artist visited the actual apartment in which the trial was held, and was kindly permitted by the proprietor to make a drawing on the spot.

"The head of Shakespeare is rendered with much clearness and



SHAKESPEARE BEFORE SIR THOMAS LUCY.

simplicity, and separates him not more from the rude and passionate vulgarity of the woodman who with open-mouthed vehemence urges the charge, than from the elegant though incensed rigidity of the Justice and Squire. His whole attitude and bearing indeed, are unaffected and engaging. He is not over much concerned at this dilemma, and yet he is not indifferent. There is the perplexity of circumstance not of conscience. It does not go deep enough for that. There is a natural innocence about him, a sort of perplexed passive waiting for light upon his crime, which is very delightful, a feeling in which the staghound beside him seems to share, being evidently prepared to stand up for his master. Neither of them betrays great horror at the deed nor holds out much promise of repentance. Still, the law is the law, and somehow or other they have got into its toils.

"We must not, however, be too hard upon Sir Thomas; we are very apt to look upon him from our present standpoint and to think bitter things of him for his laying hands upon one of the immortals. But the probability is that he did no more than any other squire would have done under the circumstances, or than many would do even in the present day. We must remember that the nimbus was not yet around the 'Poacher's' brow, and that none of us, any more than Sir Thomas Lucy, could have detected a *Hamlet* or a *Midsummer Night's Dream* lurking under that lofty dome. For our own part we rather feel grateful to Sir Thomas, since as the incident led to the migrating of this young poacher to the 'world of London, where, as it is said, after some initial steps in the way of holding gentlemen's horses at the door of the Globe Theatre, succeeded by some subordinate performances within, he ultimately shone forth in those marvellous creations which lighted up the deepest chambers of the human heart, and have imparted to the literature of England a glory which time cannot diminish.'"

I have scarcely had patience to copy this description by Mr. Simpson, who coolly assumes that the whole of this outrageous and libellous story is true, and I am extremely glad that De Quincey* takes quite another view, and stamps it all as an idle tale. I will combine his views with my own, trusting thus to clear away from the memory of our "Immortal Bard" this unjust stigma.

There can be no doubt that this story has been

* "Shakespeare: A Biography."

propagated under two separate impulses; the one probably being the vulgar love of pointed and glaring contrasts, so as to bring the splendour of the man into a sort of epigrammatic antithesis with events in his life of a humiliating character. The other impulse would, I think, arise from the malicious pleasure which some have in seeing a great man degraded. There have been those of mean and little minds in almost every age that have done this thing. Unable to accomplish anything themselves worthy of note, they have endeavoured to damage the reputation of those who have distinguished themselves; and such, alas! is the depravity of human nature, that a lie to the detriment of another, especially if he be a great man, is read with avidity and "rolled as a sweet morsel under the tongue." Yea, more, when a direct refutation has appeared and the slanderer is publicly disgraced, even then the original lie is still circulated and believed in. I think it more than probable that Shakespeare during his lifetime experienced something of this, for the following lines are so emphatic that they seem to come from a heart that had felt the agonising torture caused by a slanderer's malice:—

"No; 'tis slander,
Whose edge is sharper than the sword; whose tongue
Outvenoms all the worms of Nile; whose breath
Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world: kings, queens, and states,
Maids, matrons, nay, the secrets of the grave
This viperous slander enters."—*Cymbeline*, Act iii., Scene 4.

Also in *Othello*, Act iii., Scene 3, we find the poet bursting forth with these words:—

"Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed."

In Mr. Sidney Lee's account, page 237, it will be noticed that Archdeacon Davis goes so far as to state that Shakespeare had been judicially whipped. This statement makes De Quincey boil over with indignation; and my feelings of anger are equally strong, but I will show the inconsistency of the tale. We are told that this whipping was for deer-stealing, and from the park of Sir Thomas Lucy. De Quincey says that at that time Sir Thomas had no deer in his park. But even supposing he had; the shooting of a deer would not have been punishable with a whipping, and Sir Thomas Lucy was not a man likely to irritate a whole community like Stratford-on-Avon by branding with permanent disgrace a young man so closely connected with three at least of the best families in the neighbourhood. "Besides," says De Quincey, "had Shakespeare suffered any dishonour of that kind, the scandal would infallibly have pursued him at his very heels to London, and in that case Greene, who has left on record in a posthumous work of 1592 his malicious feelings towards Shakespeare, could not have failed to notice it." Flagellation is ignominious in its own nature, even though unjustly inflicted and by a ruffian; but in the case of judicial flagellation it involves a lasting personal dishonour and even degradation, and certainly Greene, when searching with the diligence of malice for matters against Shakespeare, if he had heard of that memorable disgrace which, on the supposition that it was true, had exiled the rising poet and dramatist from Stratford only six years before, would have published it to the world with gloating triumph.

It must also be remembered that when Shakespeare was adopted into the society of a leading company of players in the metropolis as an honoured partner, one of the chiefs of that company, Mr. Burbage, was his own townsman. Is it likely, then, that he would have been thus

cordially received if he had lately come from the lash of the executioner or beadle? Moreover, if Shakespeare had so trespassed, the punishment, as I have just said, would not have been a whipping as stated by the slanderer Davies, but a fine and imprisonment. Fortunately, we have in the wonderful British Museum Library copies of the Acts of Parliament passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and I have found the one relating to deer-stealing, of which these are the very words as they stand in black letter:—

“An Act passed in the 5th year of the reign of Elizabeth, cap. 21, sec. 3:—Be it enacted by the Queen's Majestie with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament. . . . And be it also enacted by authoritie of this present Parliament that if any person or persons after the sayde feast of Pentecost next commying at any time by night or by day in manner aforesaid wrongfully or unlawfully breake or enter into any Parke empaled, or any other several grounde closed with wall pale or hedge and used for the keppling, breedyng, and cherishing of Deare, and so wrongfully hunt dryve or chase out, or take kylle or flea any Deare within any suche empaled parke or closed grounde, with a wall pale or any other inclosure, and used for Deare as is aforesayde or do or shall take away any Hawke or Hawkes, or the egges of any of them, by any ways or means unlawfullye out of any of the woods or grounde of any person or persons (not havynge lawfull authoritie or licence so to do) and thereof be lawfully convicted at the suite of our Souveraigne Lady the Quene or the party grieved as is aforesayde: shall lykwise suffer imprisonment of hys or theyr bodyes by the space of three monethes and shall yelde and paye to the partie grieved his treble damages.

“And after the said three monethes expired, shall fynd sufficient sureties for hys or theyr good abearyng for the space of vii yeres after, against the Quenes Majestie, her heyres and successours, and all her liege people as is aforesayde or els shall remayne and continue styll in pryson without bayle or mainprise untill such tyme as he or they so offending can and shall fynde such sufficient sureties duryng the said tyme of vii yeres as is afore rehearsed.”

Bracebridge * says that—

* “Shakespeare no Deer-stealer.”

"This Act continued in force from 1562 during the whole of Shakespeare's life, and its enactments were extended to parks made subsequently and by provisions as to the use of bows, crossbows, and guns therein by the 3 James I. cap. 13 and by 7 James I. cap. 13."

Now my readers will see what a disgraceful slanderer Davis was, whom I have noticed as having said that Sir Thomas Lucy had Shakespeare "oft whipped," when no such punishment is mentioned in the Act.

We will now examine for a moment the position which Shakespeare would have been in if he had even been punished by Sir Thomas in the way appointed by the Act. After his arrest he would have been fined thrice the value of the deer, then imprisoned for three months, and on its expiration would have had to find sureties for seven years or remain in prison all that time. Suppose he had been imprisoned for the three months, how could he have taken himself off to London with such a ban hanging over him for SEVEN years, and would it be likely that his own townsman would have taken him into partnership whilst under such a stigma? The whole thing is intensely absurd, and, as De Quincey says, "the tale is fabulous and rotten to its core."

In reference to the lines I have mentioned as quoted by Oldys, and which Capel says Shakespeare affixed to Lucy's park gates, De Quincey's wrath rises to the highest pitch, who speaks of them as a sort of scurrilous rondeau consisting of nine lines so loathsome in their brutal stupidity, and so vulgar in their expression, that he would not pollute his pages by transcribing them. I have, however, given some of them on page 237, that my readers may judge for themselves how thoroughly unlike they are from anything that emanated from Shakespeare's pen. De Quincey believes they were the production of Charles II.'s reign, and were an insult offered to the Sir

Thomas Lucy of that time. Certainly, from what we know of the Sir Thomas Lucy of Shakespeare's time, the scurrilous lines were not in the least applicable to him.

I must make a little digression here in order to introduce a portrait of Shakespeare (see page 232). After searching for a long time amongst the large collection of prints in the British Museum I determined at last to fix upon what is called the Chandos likeness, partly because it is the one in our "National Portrait Gallery," and partly because it seems to be so well authenticated. Its history, as related in *The Illustrated London News* of Sept. 30th, 1848, is as follows:—"The Duke of Chandos obtained it by marriage from Mr. Robert Keck of the Inner Temple, who gave the actress Mrs. Barry, as they tell us, forty guineas for it. Mrs. Barry had it from Betterton, and Betterton had it from Sir William Davenant, who was a professed admirer of Shakespeare, and was born in 1605 and died in 1668. Betterton was the eminent actor belonging to the Duke's Theatre of which Davenant was the patentee. The elder brother of Davenant had been heard to relate that Shakespeare often kissed Sir William as a boy. Davenant therefore lived near enough to Shakespeare's time to have obtained a genuine portrait of the poet whom he so much admired. There is no doubt that Davenant thought it a good likeness, and Kneller copied it afterwards and gave it to Dryden. At Stowe's sale, September, 1848, it was purchased by the Earl of Ellesmere for 355 guineas, and who in 1856 presented it to the nation."

I will now quote some of Shakespeare's lines in reference to his Justice Shallow in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Act i., Scene 1), that my readers may see how inapplicable they are to the character I shall presently be able to give of Sir Thomas Lucy, which was the very reverse of Shallow's in every respect.

"*Shallow*. Sir Hugh persuade me not ; I will make a Star Chamber matter of it : If he were twenty Sir John Falstaffs he shall not abuse Robert Shallow Esq.

"*Slender*. In the County of Gloucester Justice of Peace and *Coram*.

"*Shallow*. Ay, cousin Slender, and *Custalorum*.

"*Slender*. Ay, and *Rato-lorum* too ; and a gentleman born, Master Parson, who writes himself *Armigero* in any Bill, Warrant, Quittance, or Obligation *Armigero*.

"*Shallow*. Ay, that I do, and have done any time these three hundred years.

"*Slender*. All his Successors, gone before him, have done't ; and all his Ancestors that come after him, may ; they may give the dozen white Luces in their coat.

"*Shallow*. It is an old coat."

Then in *Henry IV.*, Part 2, Act iii., Scene 2, Falstaff describes Justice Shallow thus :—

"*Falstaff*. I do see the bottom of Justice Shallow. Lord, Lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying. This same starved justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth and the feats he hath done about Turnbull-street and every third word a lie, duer paid to the hearer than the Turk's Tribute."

And again in Act v., Scene 1 :—

"*Falstaff*. If I were sawed into quantities I should make four dozen of such bearded hermits' staves as Master Shallow. It is a wonderful thing to see the semblable coherence of his men's spirits and his. They by observing him do bear themselves like foolish justices ; he by conversing with them is turned into a justice-like serving man ; . . . If I had to suit Master Shallow I would humour his men with the imputation of being near their master : If to his men, I would curry with Master Shallow that no man could better command his servants. It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught as men take diseases of one another ; therefore let men take heed of their company. I will devise matter enough out of this Shallow to keep Prince Harry in continual laughter."

It will be seen by the above quotations that Shallow boasted of the wildness of his youth. But Sidney Lee says



SIR THOMAS LUCY.

From the Effigy on his Tomb.

that Sir Thomas imbibed the Puritan sentiments of Foxe.* If he did this as a lad, it is not likely that when a young man he lived a fast life in London, and Shakespeare would know this.

William Camden, Clarencieux King of Arms, was for a number of years also a friend of the Lucy family, for I find that amongst his associates at Pembroke College, Oxford, were Sir John Packington, Sir Stephen Powell, and Sir Edward Lucy. Camden's friendship for the Lucy family was manifested also at Sir Thomas's funeral, which he attended, and brought down with him two other heralds to add pomp to the occasion. This William Camden was one of the greatest antiquaries of his day, a large number of whose historical works have come down to us and occupy five columns in the folio catalogue of the British Museum Library. Is it at all likely then that he would have shown in so marked a manner his personal friendship for a man anything like Justice Shallow, who did not know sufficient Latin to describe his own position when he said, "Ay, cousin Slender, and *custalorum*," by which, I suppose, he meant that he was one of the senior justices—that is, one of the *custodes rotulorum* which are necessary to make the Quarter Sessions a court of record?

I must now notice briefly the circumstance of Shakespeare's giving a coat-of-arms to Shallow with a dozen luces upon it, and which I think has been the origin of all this fabulous story, because the arms of the Lucy family are three luces, or pikes, argent haurient; but some other families have luces on their shields. Then, also, the Lucy coat has only three pikes, whereas Justice Shallow claims to have twelve, therefore the arms are not the same; and I should think it was simply an unintentional coincidence that Shakespeare fixed upon

* "Dic. Nat. Biog.," vol. xxxiv.

luces for Shallow's coat. De Quincey's remarks upon this are so good that I must give them:—

“A baronet who has no deer and no park, is supposed to prosecute a poet for stealing these aerial deer out of this aerial park, both lying in *nephelococytia*. The poet sleeps upon this wrong for eighteen years; but at length, hearing that his persecutor is dead and buried, he conceives thoughts of revenge. And this revenge he purposes to execute by picking a hole in his dead enemy's coat-of-arms. Is this coat-of-arms, then, Sir Thomas Lucy's? Why no: Malone admits that it is not. For the poet, suddenly recollecting that this ridicule would settle upon the son of his dead enemy, selects another coat-of-arms with which his dead enemy never had any connection, and he spends his thunder and lightning upon this irrelevant object. The last act of the poet's malice recalls to us a sort of jest-book story of an Irishman having lost a pair of silk stockings, mentions to a friend that he has taken steps for recovering them by an advertisement offering a reward to the finder. This friend objects that the cost of advertising and the reward would cut out the full value of the stockings; but the Irishman replies with a knowing air that he is not so green as to have overlooked *that*; and that to keep down reward he had advertised the stockings as worsted.

“Not at all less flagrant,” De Quincey goes on to say, “is the bull ascribed to Shakespeare, when he is made to punish a dead man by personalities meant for his exclusive ear through his coat-of-arms, but at the same time, with the express purpose of blunting and defeating the edge of his own scurrility, is made to substitute for the real arms some others which had no more relation to the dead enemy than they had to the poet himself. This is the very sublime of folly, beyond which human dotage cannot advance.”

It is very strange that so many biographers of Shakespeare should have copied this story from one another without more careful investigation, and thus have spread far and wide the slander. One very forcible circumstance, I think, against the whole thing is that no one has found any entry in the magisterial records of Stratford-on-Avon in reference to this arrest and imprisonment of Shakespeare; whereas there are entries in the Corporation books of Sir Thomas having

attended there officially, and of provisions for his entertainment by the Corporation such as the following:—

- “1578. To John Smith for a pottell of wine and a
 quarterne of sugar for Sir Thomas Lucy . xvj d”
 “1586. Paid for wine and sugar, when Sir Thomas
 Lucie satt in commission, for tipplers . . xx d”

The non-existence, therefore, of any entry in reference to the conviction of Shakespeare, combined with the other circumstances before related, are strong proofs that the story is a complete fabrication, or based on some event not in any way prejudicial to Shakespeare's character, which seems to be the opinion of Professor T. Spencer Baynes in his article on Shakespeare in the ninth edition of the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*,” and also that of Mr. Bracebridge, to whom reference is made above. Both of these writers think that Shakespeare, being a great lover of woodland sports, might have unintentionally done something to cause Sir Thomas to threaten him with law proceedings. Professor Baynes then goes on to give the following description of the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon in Shakespeare's day as affording considerable scope for healthy recreation and sports such as Shakespeare loved. He says:—

“There was the remnant of the old Arden forest which, though still nominally a royal domain, was virtually free for many kinds of sports. Indeed, the observance of the forest laws had fallen into such neglect in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, that even unlicensed deer-hunting in the royal domains was common enough ; and hardly any attempt was made to prevent the pursuit of the smaller game belonging to the warren and the chase. Then three or four miles to the east of Stratford between the Warwick road and the river stretched the romantic park of Fulbroke which, as the property of an attainted exile sequestered though not seized by the crown, was virtually open to all comers. There can be little doubt that when Shakespeare and his companions wished for a day's outing in the woods they usually resorted to some part of the Arden forest still

available for sporting purposes ; but sometimes, probably on account of its greater convenience, they seemed to have changed the venue to Fulbroke Park, and there they might easily have come into collision with Sir Thomas Lucy's keepers."

It is, therefore, just possible that something might have happened in Fulbroke Park which gave rise to a tradition which has been so greatly exaggerated ; and this opinion is confirmed by the circumstance that when Sir Walter Scott, in 1828, visited the Sir Thomas Lucy of that day, Sir Thomas told him that the park from which the said deer was supposed to be stolen was not Charlecote, but one belonging to a mansion at some distance. This helps us to fix upon Fulbroke Park as the scene of the exploit, if it ever took place at all.

Mr. Bracebridge, whom I have before quoted, has hunted up some interesting information respecting this Fulbroke Park, and says the park had, it seems, been held (that is, rented) by the Lucys under the Crown in the time of Henry VIII., but was afterwards granted by Queen Mary to one of her Privy Councillors, Sir Francis Englefield, who, being a devoted Romanist, fled to Spain on the accession of Elizabeth, and was subsequently adjudged a traitor, upon which the Fulbroke estate was sequestered but not administered by the Crown. I want my readers to specially notice the next two sentences:—

"The park, being without a legal custodian for more than a quarter of a century, became dis-parked, the palings having fallen into decay and the fences being in many places broken down. The deer with which it abounded were thus left without any legal protection, and might be hunted at will by enterprising sportsmen."

By referring back to page 243, my readers will see that the Act of Parliament expressly mentions that the park must "be enclosed with a wall, pale, or hedge." Now the palings of Fulbroke Park had long been broken down, and

the deer could wander where they pleased. Therefore, if Shakespeare had shot one of these deer with his bow he could not have been punished at all.

Thus, then, all the absurd story tumbles to pieces: but I have a still further climax. This Fulbroke Park did not come into the possession of the Lucy family *until one year before the death of Shakespeare*, when Sir Thomas, the grandson of the gentleman of whom I have been writing, purchased it in 1615 of Sir Francis Englefield, nephew to the Sir Francis Englefield to whom it had been granted by Queen Mary, the deeds relating to which purchase Bracebridge says are still extant. The Fulbroke estate had come into the possession of this nephew through his mother, Margaret Englefield, to whom Queen Elizabeth seems to have given the reversion, as is seen by the following extract which is here copied from the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series":—

"1607, Sept. 26. Lease to Nich. Faunt, Clerk of the Signet *in reversion* after Marg. Englefield, of Fulbrook Park, co. Warwick, late belonging to Sir Francis Englefield attainted."

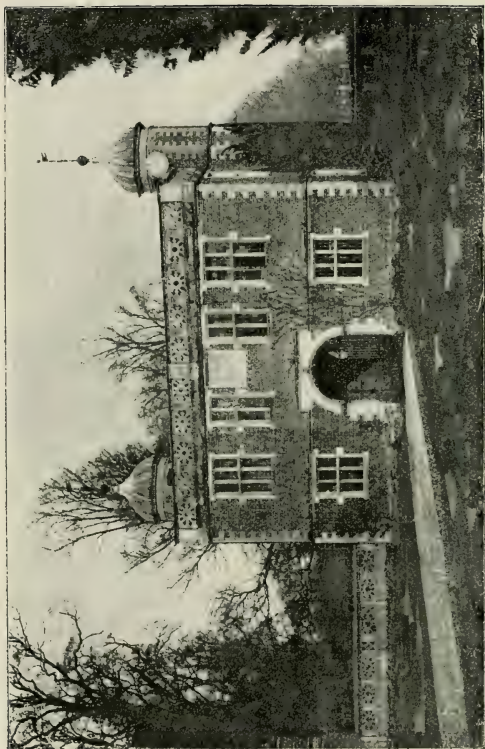
This lady died in 1612, and her son inherited the estate, which was never the property of the Lucys until Sir Francis sold it to them in 1615, when Shakespeare was dwelling at his own native Stratford-on-Avon, whence he had retired to spend the remainder of his days after his brilliant career in London. Where now is the robbing of Sir Thomas Lucy's park by Shakespeare, the arrest of the poet, his trial and whippings? I trust consigned to oblivion for ever, whilst disgrace and obloquy will rest upon his slanderers.

I will now give some further information in reference to Sir Thomas Lucy, that it may be seen how greatly he differed from Shakespeare's Shallow. Sir Thomas was both

a scholar and a gentleman. He had been educated, as I have said, in his father's house by John Foxe, the celebrated martyrologist, who was a Master of Arts, of Brasenose College, Oxford, and was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College in 1543, and afterwards became tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey. Foxe was extremely happy in the family of the Lucys, and his son describes him as having felt much grief on the conclusion of his tutorial engagement at Charlecote, which he possibly was compelled to leave in consequence of the danger of being arrested as a heretic. Foxe married Agnes Randall, the daughter of an old friend who was visiting the Lucys whilst he was tutor there.

There is another incidental proof of Sir Thomas being a scholar. It is stated that his grandson inherited from his father a library of French and Italian books, and had considerable literary tastes. Now this library must have existed during the lifetime of Shakespeare's Lucy, as he is so often called, for his eldest son died only five years after himself. The library would, therefore, appear to have belonged to the Sir Thomas of whom I have written so much, and left to his son when he died in 1600, who again left it to his son in 1605; but more of this presently.

That Sir Thomas was a man of taste, too, is evidenced by his having rebuilt, as it now stands, in 1558, his family mansion at Charlecote in such excellent style that Sidney Lee says of it, "in spite of modern additions it remains a very finished specimen of Tudor domestic architecture." (See page 236, where there is a fine view of the Garden front, which, with the Entrance Gate, appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for October, 1894, and is here reproduced by permission of the proprietor.) The ground plan was designed to represent the letter E, in compliment to Queen Elizabeth, and the architect has been said to be John of Padua. The material of the house is



ENTRANCE GATE TO CHARLECOTE MANSION.

See page 255.

red brick with stone dressings, the entrance to which is by a very handsome porch projecting into the court, the lower stage of which is Ionic, the upper composite. The Royal arms, with E. R., are carved over the doorway, and the initials T. L. in the spandrels. It is said that this porch was hurriedly completed to do honour to the Queen on her visit to Charlecote, which visit of the Queen is a further proof of Lucy's having been a gentleman.

In "Graphic Illustrations of Warwickshire" there are two beautiful views given of this mansion; and the writer of the letterpress description, whose name is not given, referring to the ballad I have quoted, and the character of Shallow in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the second part of *Henry IV.*, says there is no reason why they should be applied to Sir Thomas Lucy:—

"For the following inscription drawn up by him, signed by his own name, and placed on a tablet over the tomb of his lady in Charlecote Church, displays, with some of the best and noblest feelings of the human heart, so much simplicity and sound judgment that it certainly could not have been written by one so silly, ignorant and vain as the 'Justice' is represented."

The inscription is over an altar tomb on the south side of the chancel in Charlecote Church, upon the slab of which are placed alabaster recumbent figures of Sir Thomas and Lady Lucy, finely executed, their heads resting on cushions, their hands elevated and joined in the attitude of prayer, and their feet resting against their respective family crests and effigies of their son and daughter kneeling in prayer. It is rather a singular circumstance that though Sir Thomas is buried beneath this tomb there is no inscription respecting himself. Surely this must have happened from his having left special instructions that no epitaph should be written upon him, otherwise his family, who had given him so sumptuous a funeral, would have been sure to

have placed one there. If this be a correct supposition, then Sir Thomas must have possessed the virtue of modesty to a high degree, and Shakespeare, knowing this, would not have so unjustly maligned him in the character of "Shallow"!

The following are the words given by Dugdale,* with a picture of the tomb:—

"HERE ENTOMBED LYETH

THE LADY JOYCE LUCY, WIFE OF SIR THOMAS LUCY OF CHARLECOTE IN THE COUNTY OF WARWICK, KNIGHT, DAUGHTER AND HEIR OF THOMAS ACTON OF SUTTON IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, ESQUIRE, WHO DEPARTED OUT OF THIS WRETCHED WORLD TO HER HEAVENLY KINGDOME, THE TENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD GOD 1595, AND OF HER AGE LX AND III.

"ALL THE TIME OF HER LYFE A TRUE AND FAITHFULL SERVANT OF HER GOOD GOD; NEVER DETECTED OF ANY CRIME OR VICE; IN RELIGION MOST SOUND, IN LOVE TO HER HUSBAND MOST FAITHFULL AND TRUE; IN FRIENDSHIP MOST CONSTANT. TO WHAT IN TRUST WAS COMMITTED TO HER MOST SECRET; IN WISDOME EXCELLING; IN GOVERNING HER HOUSE AND BRINGING UP OF YOUTH IN THE FEARE OF GOD THAT DID CONVERSE WITH HER, MOST RARE AND SINGULAR; A GREAT MAINTAINER OF HOSPITALITY; GREATLY ESTEEMED OF HER BETTERS; MISLIKED OF NONE, UNLESSE OF THE ENVIOUS.

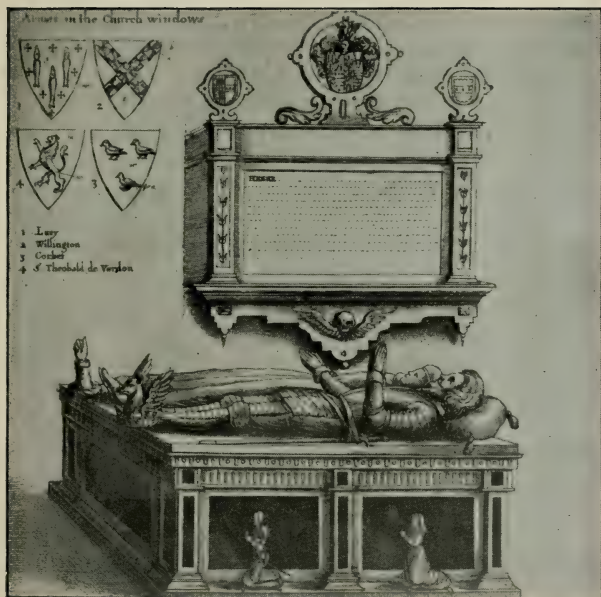
"WHEN ALL IS SPOKEN THAT CAN BE SAID, A WOMAN SO FURNISHED AND GARNISHED WITH VERTUE AS NOT TO BE BETTERED, AND HARDLY TO BE EQUALLED BY ANY.

"AS SHE LIVED MOST VERTUOUSLY SO SHE DYED MOST GODLY. SET DOWN BY HIM THAT BEST DID KNOW WHAT HATH BEEN WRITTEN TO BE TRUE.

"THOMAS LUCY."

I will now come to my last argument—which is, that Shakespeare gives marked evidence throughout his works

* "Antiquities of Warwickshire," pages 508 and 510.



TOMB OF SIR THOMAS AND LADY LUCY.

See page 255.

of his having been a most careful student of the Bible, and therefore one is bound to believe that he must have been early taught to read and reverence the Scriptures; and if so, it would scarcely be likely that he would be guilty of deer-stealing. In reference to this knowledge of the Bible, there is a most charming book written by the late Bishop of St. Andrews, Dr. Charles Wordsworth, which I have read with much delight and some surprise, for, in those times, a copy of the whole Bible was an expensive thing. I had no idea, until I read Wordsworth's work, that Shakespeare had made so many allusions to the historical facts and characters of the Bible, the manifestation of which occupies forty pages. The following are one or two specimens. In the conversation between Don Adriano de Armado and his page Moth, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act i., Scene 2, we have—

“*Arm.* More authority, dear boy, name more; and sweet my child, let them be men of good repute and carriage.

“*Moth.* Samson, master: he was a man of good carriage, great carriage, for he carried the town-gates on his back, like a porter: and he was in love.

“*Arm.* O, well-knit Samson! strong-jointed Samson! . . . I am in love too.”

Then at the close of the same scene Armado thus soliloquises:—

“Love is a familiar . . . There is no evil angel but love. Yet was Samson so tempted; and he had an excellent strength. Yet was Solomon so seduced; and he had a very good wit.”

Then in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act v., Scene 1, Falstaff declares:—

“In the shape of man, Master Brook, I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam, because I know also life is a shuttle.”

The comparison in these last words is taken from Job vii. 6.

Both references are a proof of Shakespeare's acquaintance with Holy Scripture. That he was a close student of the Bible is certain, for the Bishop gives numbers of references from almost every book in the Bible, of which

- 61 are from Pentateuch,
 - 12 from Joshua and Judges,
 - 35 from the historical books of Samuel, Kings, etc.,
 - 19 from Job,
 - 60 from the Psalms,
 - 47 from the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon,
 - 57 from the Prophets,
 - 12 from the Apocrypha,
 - 140 from the Gospels and Acts,
 - 107 from the Epistles and Revelations.
- In all, 550.

Wordsworth in each instance gives the chapter and verse side by side with Shakespeare's allusion to it. I confess I was simply amazed when examining the list, for it manifested an extraordinary knowledge of the Bible from cover to cover. In giving these passages the Bishop points out that the poet's religious principles and sentiments were derived from the Bible, and calls attention to his belief in the Divine attributes of God, and his goodness in reference to Creation and Redemption. Also his clear views of Sin and Repentance, of the duty and efficacy of Prayer, of Charity and Mercifulness, of Diligence, Sobriety and Chastity, of Justice and Honesty, of Humility, Contentment and Resignation, as well as of Death and the Day of Judgment. There are several very charming passages showing Shakespeare's strong belief in Christ as our Redeemer. One is in *King Richard III.*, Act i., Scene 4,

where he puts it into the mouth of Clarence thus to address the men sent to murder him :—

“I charge you, as you hope to have redemption
By Christ's dear blood, shed for our grievous sins,
That you depart, and lay no hands on me.”

Also in *King Henry IV.*, Part 1, Act i., Scene 1, there is one still more beautiful containing the same sentiment :—

“Those holy Fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter Cross.”

Then in *King Henry VI.*, Part 3, Act v., Scene 6, we have our Lord's injunction to pray for our enemies exemplified by the King when Gloster stabs him in the Tower :—

“O God ! forgive my sins, and pardon thee.”

This also will be seen to be in imitation of our Lord's divine prayer on the Cross :—

“Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

Then the Bishop calls attention to a very interesting fact—that as the translators of our Authorised Version of the Bible lived and flourished at the same time as our great poet, similar words and phrases are found in each that were commonly current at that time, but which have since undergone a change of meaning or altogether become obsolete. So that we get light thrown upon certain expressions in the sacred text by the use of parallel ones in Shakespeare's works. Thus, in Saint Matthew xxvi. 73 :—

“Thy speech bewrayeth thee.”

In *Coriolanus*, Act v., Scene 3, we have the same obsolete word, meaning "to discover or disclose":—

"Should we be silent, and not speak, our raiment
And state of bodies would bewray what life
We have led since thy exile."

"Dayspring" is used for break of day, or the dawn, in Job xxxviii. 12:—

"Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days, and caused the *dayspring* to know his place?"

So in *King Henry IV.*, Part 2, Act iv., Scene 4:—

"As flaws congealed in the spring of day."

Numbers of similar instances are given by Dr. Wordsworth, who says that in selecting all his quotations he has made no use of any previous compilation, but trusted solely to his own complete perusal and study of our great poet.

As I am just now defending Shakespeare against a most wicked and unrighteous slander, I feel that it must strengthen my position if I quote the following paragraph from so earnest a student as the good Bishop has proved himself to be, who in his introduction says:—

"Shakespeare has not yet received the credit which I think I shall be able to prove that he deserves of having been in a more than ordinary degree a diligent and a devout reader of the Word of God; and that he has turned this reading to far more and far better account than any of his critics would seem to have suspected, or at all events have yet attempted to point out. His marvellous knowledge of the Book of Nature is admitted on all hands; his knowledge of the Book of Grace, though far less noticed, will be found, I believe, to have been scarcely less remarkable. His works have been called 'a secular Bible!' My object is to show that, while they are this, they are also *something more*, being saturated with Divine Wisdom such as could have been derived only from the very Bible itself. And I enter upon this task with keener interest

and heartier zest upon two accounts : first, because I trust I shall be paying a duteous service to the memory of this great man, whom every Briton should delight to honour, by removing an imputation which has been (I am persuaded) hastily and inconsiderately cast upon him, as though he had in some instances designed to treat the Inspired Word with profaneness ; and secondly, because if it shall appear, as I doubt not it will, that a genius so incomparable was content to study and not unfrequently to draw his inspirations from the pages of Holy Scripture, submitting his reason to the mysterious doctrines which it reveals and his conscience to the moral lessons which it prescribes, it may be hoped that no one of my readers will consider it beneath him to follow an example set by an authority so highly, so justly, and so universally esteemed."

In reference to these last words I would add the testimony of Ben Jonson,* who knew the poet personally, and whose rough and cynical temper could not resist the charm of Shakespeare's genial character, gracious ways, and honourable conduct ; for he says :—

"I loved the man and do honour his memory, on this side of idolatry as much as any. He was indeed honest and of an open and free nature ; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions."

Of this Wordsworth says :—

"Upon such unquestionable testimony it is pleasant to be permitted to think of our greatest poet, as one who in an honest and good heart having heard the Word, kept it and brought forth fruit—immortal fruit—to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind."

I cannot close this subject without noticing Shakespeare's own confession of faith which he intended for all the world to read after his death. I refer to the opening sentences of his will, which contain in nucleus the whole of the doctrines of Christianity taught by both the Old and the New Testament :—

* Boswell's Variorum edition of Shakespeare, page 8.

“First, I commend my soul into the hands of God my Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting, and my body to the earth whereof that is made.”

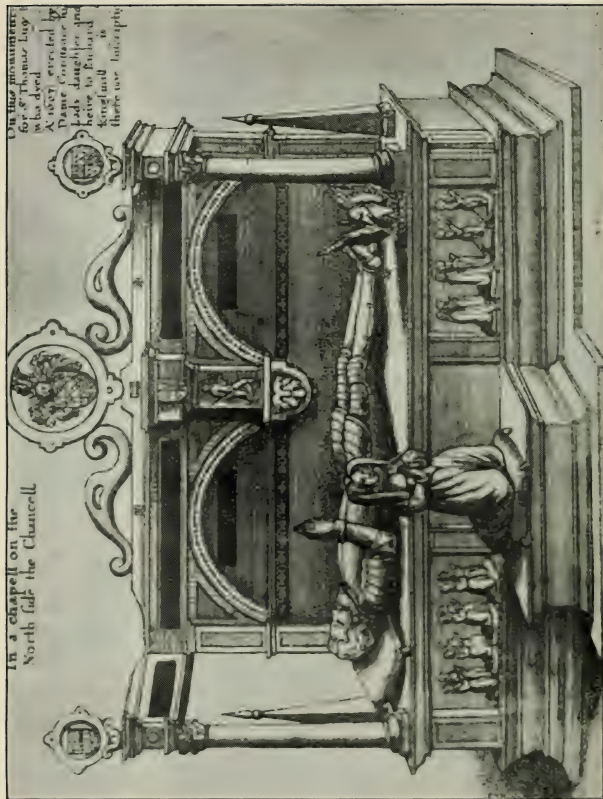
In order still further to prove the impossibility of Shakespeare's having endeavoured to insult the Lucy family by introducing the character of Shallow into *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I will continue their story, that my readers may see what estimable people they all were.

Sir Thomas Lucy, junior, the father of the young lady who is buried in my church, was the son of the Sir Thomas of whom I have written so much. He married twice, first Dorothy, daughter of Sir Nicholas Arnold, of Highnam, Gloucestershire, by whom he had a son and a daughter. The son died, and so did the wife; but he married again Constance, daughter of Sir Richard Kingsmill, Knight, by whom he had six sons and eight daughters. Some of these sons became very eminent men, of whom I shall speak presently. Constance was one of the daughters, whose epitaph heads a previous chapter, and who seems from the monument to have been a very beautiful girl. Why she was buried in Holy Trinity I cannot tell, but perhaps the family were residing in London near to the church at the time of her death, for many of the houses in the neighbourhood of the Tower were at that time occupied by noble and distinguished families.

I have not been able to find out the date of the birth of this Sir Thomas, but from certain dates I have obtained should think he was only about forty-five when he died, notwithstanding his large family. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth during his father's lifetime, and therefore was styled Sir Thomas Lucy, junior; he was also buried in Charlecote Church, his tomb being opposite to his father's,

In a chapel on the
North side the Chancel.

On this monument
for Sir Thomas Lucy
who died
A monument erected by
Dame Catherine Lucy
Lady daughter and
heire to Richard
Kingland of
there use



TOMB OF SIR THOMAS LUCY, JUNIOR.

HIS WIFE IS KNEELING.

encompassed on three sides by an entablature, supported in front by Corinthian columns and bearing his recumbent effigy in alabaster. In the panels on the side are kneeling figures of six sons and eight daughters. The effigy of his second wife Constance, daughter of Sir Richard Kingsmill, who survived her husband thirty-one years, is of painted stone. She kneels in the attitude of prayer on a stone cushion placed on a detached block of alabaster, close to the side of the tomb; the figure has a quiet air of pathos about it, quaint but impressive.

Several of the sons of Sir Thomas became distinguished men. I will notice the eldest presently. His second, Sir Richard Lucy, when at Magdalen College, Oxford, took his B.A. in 1611; he was knighted at Whitehall January 8th, 1617, and was created a baronet in the following March. Twenty years afterwards, he was elected M.P. for Old Sarum to the Long Parliament of 1647, and sat in Cromwell's Parliament in 1654 and 1656 for Hertfordshire. His fourth son William, born 1591, became Bishop of St. David's, and had previously been chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham. An outline of his life is given by Mr. W. A. S. Hewins in vol. 34, page 251, of the "*Dictionary of National Biography*."

I must now notice the eldest son, who was the third Sir Thomas in succession, the account of whom I have purposely left till the last because he was a noted literary man. He matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, 8th May, 1601, when he was only fifteen; the next year he became a student of Lincoln's Inn, though I have not been able to find out what he did at the Bar; but in 1608 and 1609 he travelled in France with Lord Edward Herbert (whose works are so well known), but whose religious opinions he did not embrace. They were both nearly shipwrecked on their way home. Lucy was much

respected by Lord Herbert, who gave him a portrait of himself, painted on copper, and which Sidney Lee thinks was the work of Nicholas Lockie, a portrait painter of some repute in the reign of James I.* This portrait is still at Charlecote, and is valued by the family. Sir Thomas inherited from his father a good library, in which were many French and Italian books. I have before noticed this library, the foundation of which I believe to have been laid by his grandfather, so often called "Shakespeare's Lucy." This grandson of whom I am now writing married Alice, the daughter and heir of Thomas Spencer, Esq., of Claverdon, who survived him eight years, and who seems to have been a most estimable lady if we may judge of her from what the Rector of Barford, the Rev. Thomas Dugard, M.A., said of her when he preached her funeral sermon, August 17th, 1648, of which we have a copy in the British Museum. I will give a few sentences, as the library is referred to by the good rector †:—

"Her first imployment everie daie was her humble address to Almighty God in secret. Her next the reading of the Word of God and some other godlie books. A great Librarie shee had wherein were most of our choicest English authors. No sooner could shee hear of anie pious book made publick but she endeavored to make it hers and herself the better for it. Much shee was in Reading and able to give as good an account of what she read, haveing an excellent understanding as in secular so in spiritual things. Findeing the benefit of this cours to herself, shee commended it to her children, whom she caused to read in her hearing, everie daie some portion of both Testaments."

This, then, was the character given of the wife of the third Sir Thomas Lucy by her own rector; therefore we may, I think, credit the inscription she caused to be

* "Life of Lord Herbert," ed. by Sidney Lee.

† This sermon lasted for two hours.

cut upon her husband's tomb, which is still in Charle-cote Church, and is given in Dugdale's "*Antiquities of Warwickshire*."* The inscription is in Latin, of which the following is a translation of some of the paragraphs:—

"SIR THOMAS LUCIE, KNIGHT,

ONE OF THIS COUNTRY'S GREATEST GLORIES, DESCENDED FROM A MOST ANCIENT FAMILY, BUT HE THOUGHT LITTLE OF BOTH IN COMPARISON WITH WORTH, WHEREIN HE OUTSHONE THE BRIGHTEST OF HIS ANCESTORS AS A SINGULAR AND MUCH-HONOURED PATRIOT. WITNESS THE SUPREME COURT OF THE KINGDOM; WHITHER HE WAS FREQUENTLY SENT BY THE UNANIMOUS AND FERVENT SUFFRAGES OF HIS COUNTRY.

HIS GREAT ESTATE NONE COULD EITHER BETTER MANAGE, OR BE LESS A SERVANT TO; WHAT HE LAID UP WITH FRUGALITY HE DISTRIBUTED WITH MAGNIFICENCE AND LIBERALITY. VERY FEW EXCELLED HIM AS THE HEAD OF A FAMILY. IF ANY OF HIS SERVANTS WERE SEIZED WITH SICKNESS AT ONCE HE OBTAINED FOR THEM MEDICAL AID AT HIS OWN COST. BEING THUS A FATHER AS WELL AS A MASTER TO HIS SERVANTS, YOU MAY JUDGE WHAT KIND OF A FATHER HE MUST HAVE BEEN TOWARDS HIS LOVELY CHILDREN AND A HUSBAND TOWARDS HIS MUCH-BELOVED WIFE. TO HIS TABLE, WHICH WAS ALWAYS SUMPTUOUSLY SERVED, ALL GOOD MEN WERE EVER MOST WELCOME, ESPECIALLY IF PROFESSORS OF EITHER SACRED OR SECULAR LEARNING. IN WHICH HE WAS HIMSELF SO GREAT A PROFICIENT, THAT HE WAS ACCOUNTED A LIVING LIBRARY. HIS GATE WAS OPENED TO THE POOR, WHOSE HUNGER BEING SATISFIED THEY DEPARTED BLESSING HIM."

These quotations will be sufficient to show the general character of this man, who was contemporary with Shakespeare, being only twenty-two years his junior, though the

* Page 511 of the 1730 edition.



TOMB OF SIR THOMAS LUCY, THE GRANDSON OF
"SHAKESPEARE'S LUCY."

See page 269.

grandson of the first Sir Thomas. It mentions on the tomb that he was frequently sent to Parliament, which is quite correct, for he was elected member for Warwickshire in 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628, and in 1640.

The tomb is an arcaded tester-headed canopy, supported by four columns of Italian design bearing effigies of white marble of Sir Thomas and his wife; the former died in 1640, and the latter in 1648. He is represented in armour and bare-headed, reclining on his left elbow, and she is attired in a low-bodied robe with a flowing hood, and is in a recumbent position, her head resting upon a cushion. The figures, which are admirably finished, are remarkably fine specimens of monumental art. They were executed by the celebrated Bernini, of Rome, by the help of portraits sent him by Sir Thomas's widow, who is said to have paid 1,500 guineas for their execution, equal to about £6,000 of our present money. It will be noticed that some of the books of the library of which I have spoken have been introduced by Lady Lucy to indicate her husband's literary tastes. Probably the representation of Sir Thomas on horseback is to show his fondness for that kind of exercise, and perhaps also because he lost his life by a fall from his favourite horse.

Let me now sum up the whole matter of this story of Shakespeare's stealing a deer, which I reject with indignation:—

1. That no official document or registration of the offence has been found, though there are entries in the Borough Chamberlain's account book of Sir Thomas Lucy's going to Stratford on legal and State business. Therefore, the story rests upon tradition alone.

2. It seems clear that Sir Thomas Lucy had not a park for deer at that time, and, therefore, Shakespeare could not steal from what did not exist.

3. That it was a slanderous falsehood on the part of Archdeacon Davis to say that Shakespeare was whipped several times; for such a thing would have been illegal, even if he had stolen the deer, as the Act of Parliament above quoted fully shows.

4. That his fellow townsman, Burbage, would not have taken him into partnership soon after his arrival in London if he had disgraced himself at Stratford-on-Avon.

5. That the character of Shallow could not apply to Sir Thomas Lucy, who was a Christian, a scholar, and a gentleman.

6. That as Lucy was dead when Shakespeare wrote *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, it is not at all likely that our immortal poet would have so insulted his grandson, whom I have shown bore the same high character as his grandfather. Especially also as we have such remarkable evidence of Shakespeare himself being a true Christian.

If I have been successful in convincing my readers upon all these points, then shall I be glad indeed that the burial of Constance Lucy in my church has given me the opportunity of taking up this most interesting subject.

Mr. H. R. Fairfax-Lucy, the proprietor of Charlecote Mansion, has most kindly sent me a copy of the present arms of the family, with which I conclude the chapter.



ARMS OF THE PRESENT LUCY FAMILY.

IX.

“Honest Will Legge.”



COLONEL WILLIAM LEGGE.

From a Painting by Hysman.

Photographed by Messrs. Walker and Boutall.

III.

“Honest Will Legge.”

THE portrait I give of Colonel William Legge on the opposite side was presented by the late Earl of Dartmouth to the trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, and was photographed by Messrs. Walker and Boutall, who have kindly permitted me to reproduce it, copies of which may be obtained at the Gallery. He was styled “Honest Will Legge” by King Charles I. as well as by his numerous friends, and was buried in my church on 13th October, 1670, when a marble monument was erected to his memory, of which the photograph on page 302 is a copy. The date on the tomb, 1672, is a mistake made by the sculptor, as will be seen by the copy I give of the entry in the “Burial Register,”* which is preceded and followed by other names of those who were buried in 1670, and, therefore, this entry must be correct. The remarkable thing, however, is that all works on the Peerage, as well as nearly all biographical notices of Colonel William Legge, extending over more than a century up to the present time, give 1672 instead of 1670. It does seem a little strange that none of the writers thought of looking in the church register to verify the date.

The words of the inscription are as follows:—

* Page 277.

"IN THE MEMORY OF

COLONEL WILLIAM LEGGE, Eldest Son of Six, born to EDWARD LEGGE & MARY WALSH, which EDWARD was onley son to WILLIAM LEGGE & ANN BERMINGHAM of y^e truly Noble & antient family of BERMINGHAMS of Athenree in the kingdom of Ireland. He was Groom of y^e Bed-chamber & Lieutenant General of y^e Ordinance to King CHARLES y^e first, & in y^e late Civil war was Governor of Chester & Oxford, & upon y^e happy Restoration of y^e Royal family in y^e year 1660 was, in consideration of his untainted fidelity to y^e King & his many and great Sufferings during the Civil war, restored to his Place of Lieutenant-General of y^e Ordinance and Groom of his Majesties Bed-chamber by King CHARLES y^e 2^d; & as a further Mark of his Royal favor Superintendant and Treasurer of the Ordinance.

He marrid ELIZABETH WASHINGTON, Eldest Daughter to S^r WILL^m WASHINGTON & ANN VILLERS Daughter to S^r GEORGE VILLERS & Sister to y^e most Noble Prince GEORGE Duke of Buckingham, by Whom he had 3 Sons & two Daughters.

He Died Oct^r 13th 1672,*

in y^e 83^d year of his Age & Lieth in a vault under this Place."

I have had the last few lines of this inscription separately photographed to show the error, of which the following is a copy:—

He marrid ELIZABETH WASHINGTON,
Eldest Daughter to S^r WILL^m WASHINGTON
& ANN VILLERS Daughter to S^r GEORGE
VILLERS & Sister to y^e most Noble Prince GEORGE
Duke of Buckingham, by Whom he had 3 Sons & two
Daughters. He Died Oct^r 13th 1672, in y^e 83^d year of his
Age & Lieth in a vault under this Place.

This Colonel William Legge was the father of the first

* Lord Dartmouth has now given instructions to have this date altered.

Colonel William Legg of the
 1st Regiment and Lieutenant of his
 Majesty's Ordnance was buried in
 a vault in the Chancel October 20th } 1670.

George Rossier atkiss was buried
 in the Church yard October 22nd } 1670.
 Robert and Judith Allmery was buried
 in the Church yard November 10th } 1670.

William Smith Fletcher was buried
 in the Church yard November 13th } 1670.

Lord Dartmouth, who, with some thirty-two of his descendants, lie buried in the vaults under my church. Much could be said of this family, for, during several centuries, many of them have occupied very important positions in the country, and have taken prominent parts in public affairs. My researches in reference to them have been more successful than I anticipated, and it will be rather difficult to compress into two or three chapters an epitome of the information contained in so large a number of MSS. and other authentic sources.

The Legge family is said by Collins* to have come from Italy, where there are still several of that name, as also in Naples and other parts. Those of Venice removed from Ravenna about the end of the tenth century; and such was their noble descent, and so great their wealth, that they were thought worthy of a place amongst the patricians in the year 1297, and had a magnificent palace near the church of Misericordia in that city. It is also a further proof of their eminence that they held high offices in the Empire.

At what time they came to England has not been ascertained. Hugh de la Lega and Richard, son of Osbert, were sheriffs of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire from the tenth to the sixteenth years of the reign of Henry II., and William de la Laga (as the name is written in ancient records) was sheriff of Herefordshire in the 17th year of that king. Those of Herefordshire have always been esteemed the older branch, but those of Legge's Place, near Tunbridge, Kent, were resident there for many generations before Edward III.'s time, in whose reign Thomas Legge, a direct ancestor of the present Lord Dartmouth, served in 1343 the office of sheriff for the

* Collins's "Peerage," vol. iv., page 294 (ed. 1779).

city of London, and was chosen Lord Mayor in the years 1347 and 1354.

In 1338 this opulent citizen lent Edward III. £300 towards carrying on the war with France—a sum worth, perhaps, in those days nearly as much as £5,000 of our present money. He is said to have married Lady Elizabeth Beauchamp, daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and had two sons, Simon and John. This second son John was in the Tower with Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, when the rebel band under Wat Tyler burst into it, dragged them out, and beheaded them all three on Tower Hill. Simon, the eldest son of the alderman, married Joan, the daughter of Roger Clavinger, whose son Thomas married Margaret, the daughter of Sir John Blount, who, in the fourteenth and last year of the reign of Henry IV., when governor of a fortress in Aquitaine, with only 300 English soldiers, overthrew the French Mareschal's army, consisting of 4,000 fighting men, who were besieging him.* Thomas Legge had three sons, the second of whom, William, was the direct ancestor of Lord Dartmouth, and he married Anne, the only daughter of John, son of Myles, Lord Bermingham, of Athenree, Ireland.

William Legge had a son named Edward, who made a voyage with Sir Walter Raleigh to North America in 1584; and on his return had a company given him in Sir Henry Danvers's regiment. He was afterwards made Vice-president of Munster, and married Mary, the daughter of Percy Walsh, esquire, of Moy Valley, by whom he had six sons and seven daughters, a goodly family, and, if we may judge from the character of the eldest son William, they must have been well brought up. John and Robert both distinguished themselves as colonels in the armies of Charles I. and Charles II. This eldest son William was

* Collins's "*Peerage*," vol. iv., and Holinshed, vol. iii.

brought out of Ireland by his godfather, Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby and President of Munster, who promised to take care of his education, and afterwards sent him to serve as a volunteer under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. After this he served under Prince Maurice in the Low Countries. In both cases he must have distinguished himself very highly, for, on his return to England, he was, in the second year of the reign of Charles I., appointed keeper of the King's wardrobe, and soon afterwards was made Groom of the Bedchamber.

I have mentioned that William Legge's godfather, Danvers, Earl of Danby, brought him from Ireland and superintended his education. Well, this good man got into sad trouble, for, having had some timber felled in Whichwood Forest without a licence, he was summoned before the Star Chamber and fined £5,000, perhaps equal then to £20,000 of our money—doubtless a most severe and unjust punishment. Danvers told the Commissioners that it would reduce him to such poverty that he should not be able to carry out his intentions of leaving Colonel William Legge £2,000 in his will, and prayed that so much of the fine might be given to him. The King consented to do this, and the £2,000 was handed over to Legge. By this we see, first, that Danvers, the patron and benefactor of his youth, had formed so high an opinion of him as not only to purpose leaving him £2,000, but also at a time when in great trouble himself he thought of his former *protégé*. The second thing worthy of note is that the King likewise must have had great respect for him to consent at once to such an appropriation of part of the fine. These good opinions of the Earl and the King were afterwards universally held by others, for we find him styled "Honest Will Legge" up to the day of his death.

In 1638 he was commissioned to inspect the fortifications of Newcastle and Hull, and put them both into a state of defence. Indeed, the King wished to make him governor of Hull in place of Sir John Hotham, but Lord Wentworth, afterwards the Earl of Strafford, vigorously remonstrated because he had appointed Sir John Hotham, of whom he speaks in the highest praise, and in his letter to Mr. Secretary Coke says:—

“I beseech you to move his Majesty that such a disgrace be not done me . . . to take away the command of the town from my lieutenancy, being indeed the choice flower of my garland.”*

Legge, however, was appointed Master of the Armoury and Lieutenant of the Ordnance for the first Scottish war, and I find a large number of references to him in the Calendar of State Papers during the time of his office, but space will not allow me to quote them.

In the spring of 1641 he was implicated in the plot for making use of the army to support the King against the Parliament; it was found, however, that he had not taken any active personal share in the project, and therefore was only examined as a witness by the Parliament. A few weeks afterwards there took place what was termed a second army plot, in which Colonel Legge did take part. The circumstances are so singular that it is well just to mention them.

A petition denouncing the Parliamentary leaders was drawn up by some of the adherents of Charles, purporting to come from the army, and commenced in this way:—

“To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights Citizens and Burgesses now assembled in the High Court of Parliament.

“The humble petition of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army humbly sheweth——”

* “The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Despatches,” vol. ii., page 310.

They proceed to state their wants, and then add :—

“But we learn with grief and anguish of heart that there are certain persons, stirring and pragmatical, who instead of rendering glory to God, thanks to his Majesty and acknowledgment to Parliament, remain yet unsatisfied and mutinous as ever ; who are daily forging new and unseasonable demands ; who, whilst all men of reason, loyalty and moderation are thinking how they may provide for your Majesty’s honour and plenty in return for so many graces to the subject, are still attempting new diminutions of your Majesty’s just regalities which must ever be no less dear to all honest men than our own freedoms ; in fine men of such turbulent spirits as are ready to sacrifice the honour and welfare of the whole kingdom to their private fancies, whom nothing else than the subversion of the whole frame of Government will satisfy. We therefore humbly pray that the ringleaders of such tumults may be punished, and his Majesty and his Parliament secured from such insolences hereafter.”

This quotation will give my readers some idea of the style of the whole. On this petition being shown to the King, he said that he had no objection to any number of officers assenting to so very reasonable a document, and on being pressed to do so, even subscribed his own initials to the petition. This is probably the only instance on record of the signature of the person petitioned heading the list of petitioners. Legge was entrusted by the King to obtain signatures from the army, in which, however, he was not very successful, but did his best to serve his King. Whereas Colonel Goring, who nursed and matured this plot, betrayed it to the Parliament, of whom Eliot Warburton says that “he was the most infamous person that ever disgraced, while permitted to retain, the title of gentleman.” * In a note he adds that “Goring was utterly debauched, cruel, and unprincipled ; he was the worst of the bad men who brought reproach on the name of Cavalier.”

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Legge joined the

* “Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers,” vol. i., pages 194, 195.



CHARLES THE FIRST.

From a Painting by Van Dyck.

King's army, and was taken prisoner in a skirmish at Southam, Warwickshire, of which I find an account in "Parliamentary History," in a letter written by Sir H. Chomley to the Earl of Essex and signed by several other officers.* In this letter they say—

"The last night we came to Southam, within ten miles of Coventry, where we were no sooner settled when we had an alarm which kept us all under guard the whole night. This morning, as one regiment was drawn out of town the adverse horse was discovered, we made what haste we could to draw out the rest of the regiments into order, but before we could well effect it they had planted two pieces of cannon, and advanced with horse and foot; their numbers as we conceive were about 1,200 horse, and about 300 musqueteers and firelocks, as Captain Legge informs us, who upon the planting of our cannon came to the place where Sergeant-Major-General Ballard stood, who presently took him prisoner; concerning whom we desire to know your Excellency's pleasure, what we shall do with him."

Legge was committed to the Gatehouse, but escaped, and I find this interesting entry in the Journal of the House of Commons, 4th October, 1642 :—

"Resolved, upon the question; that an impeachment of High Treason shall be drawn against Broccas, the keeper of the Gatehouse."

"Mr. Reynolds is appointed to impeach Broccas, the keeper of the Gatehouse, of High Treason, for suffering Captain Legg to escape."

"Resolved that Broccas shall be committed prisoner to the King's Bench for High Treason for suffering Captain W^m Legg to escape, who was committed to the prison of the Gatehouse for levying war against the King and Parliament."

Sir Robert Pye and several others were appointed to consider how the prison of the Gatehouse may be safely kept in the absence of Broccas the keeper.

After this he closely attached himself to Prince Rupert, whom he accompanied to Lichfield, and took an active

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xi, page 397.

part in its siege. The Prince's force, consisting principally of cavalry, was ill-adapted for this siege, and the wall of the Cathedral Close was far too strong to feel any effects from the few light guns that the Cavaliers possessed. Also Rousewell, the Roundhead governor, was a vigilant and able soldier, and his troops were all tried men of proved valour and fanaticism; nevertheless Prince Rupert succeeded at last, and the town surrendered, after Major Legge had been wounded and taken prisoner.*

After this Legge was in the engagement at Chalgrove Field, 18th June, 1643, when his courage led him into danger, and he was taken prisoner a third time, but afterwards rescued on the defeat of the rebels. Whilst in Lichfield, Captain Rousewell took care to plunder the Cathedral of the communion plate, and his fanatical soldiers indulged in every species of profanation. Warburton says they hunted a cat with hounds in the Cathedral, to enjoy the fine echo from the roof; also they brought a calf dressed in linen to the font and sprinkled it with water in derision of baptism.† Does not such sacrilege and gross impiety make one shudder?

On the 20th September the battle of Newbury was fought, when Legge so distinguished himself, that the night after, when attending the King in his bedchamber, his Majesty presented him with a hanger he had that day worn, the handle of which was of agate set in gold. Charles also offered to knight him with it, but Legge modestly begged his Majesty to excuse his accepting the honour. This was not the only time this brave soldier refused a title, as we shall see later on. The hanger was kept in the family till the house at Blackheath was robbed in 1693.‡

* Warburton's "Prince Rupert," vol. ii., page 163.

† Idem, vol. ii.

‡ Collins, iv.

Legge was as highly esteemed by Prince Rupert as he was by the King. Warburton in a note says :—

“From Chester he (the Prince) took all the garrison that could be spared, and instead thereof, left the honest and able William Legge (now a Colonel) as governor.”

In reference to this we have the following autograph letter in the British Museum,* addressed by the Prince to the officials of the town :—

“Gentlemen,

“I have sent the bearer, my Sergeant-Major William Legge and General of my Ordnance, to take the government of the City of Chester into his charge, a person every way qualified for so great and important a trust, of whose care and fidelity to his Majesty’s service and the public interest I have sufficient knowledge ; so you will find him no less industrious to promote the security both of that place and your persons and fortunes, therefore I require you to receive him in that capacity. I do likewise expect that you do all personally observe and follow such instructions as he shall deliver unto you for the regulating of that government. And though at present he cannot stay long among you, in regard of his Majesty’s other services which require his personal attendance, yet I shall suddenly return him again unto you. In the meantime I shall take into my special care the safety of the said city, and shall be ready upon all emergent occasions to give you such seasonable and effectual assistance as shall be requisite, and rest

“Your friend,

“RUPERT.

“Whitechurch, this 19th day of May, 1644.”

A year after this, on the death of Sir Henry Gage, Colonel Legge was appointed governor of the city and county of Oxford, and continued one of the Grooms of the King’s Bedchamber. During his governorship Antony Wood in his Diary† tells us that Colonel Richard Greaves, a most confiding Presbyterian, lay couching for a consider-

* MS. Harl. 2135, fol. 22.

† “Wood’s Life and Times,” vol. i., page 120.

able time in Thame, near Oxford, and that Colonel Legge sent out a party of horse, commanded by his brother, Colonel Robert Legge, and Colonel David Walter, high sheriff of the county, accompanied by a number of musketeers, who defeated and drove away the whole of the rebel force, wounding their leader. At this time Prince Rupert was at Bristol, which he was defending against the Parliamentary party, but seems to have been discouraged by the King's not answering his letters: this trouble and others he tells to his friend Colonel Legge in a letter still in the Dartmouth collection of MSS. In this and numerous other letters the Prince styles him "Dear Will." It will be noticed also that Rupert had written plainly to the King to advise him to consider some way which might lead to a treaty between him and the Parliament; historically, therefore, it is a most important letter, and is as follows, save a few sentences that are not quite clear, which I have omitted:—

"Dear Will,

"I wonder that Stevens should give you so many false alarms. We never were in better condition than now. All our officers and soldiers are paid and billeted in town (and) Fairfax is engaged before Sherborne. . . . You should not wonder at our stay here before you know that this town had been lost as Bridgewater was, and that the king did resolve to come to us. Since that he altered his resolution without my knowledge. He did send me no commands, and to say the truth, my humour is to do no man service against his will. They say he has gone northward. I have had no answer to ten letters I wrote; but from the Duke of Richmond, to whom I wrote plainly, and bid him be plain with the king, and desire him to consider some way which might lead to a treaty rather than undo his posterity. How this pleases I know not; but rather than not do my duty and speak my mind freely I will take his unjust displeasure. I know not what to do with Lord Grandison. If your brother will come he shall have his desires.

"Your most faithful friend,

"Bristol, 28th July, 1645."

"RUPERT.



PRINCE RUPERT.

From a Painting by Lely.

Less than a month after this Fairfax and Cromwell laid siege to Bristol; Rupert, hearing of their approach, had caused all the surrounding cattle to be driven into the town, and ordered every inhabitant to lay in provisions for six months. The population of Bristol at this time was about 12,500; and as 1,500 of these were ascertained to be without the means of support, the Prince ordered 2,000 measures of corn to be sent into the city for them from Wales. I must give my readers a few more particulars of this eventful siege, because we shall see from what happened that Colonel Legge was, to his sorrow, involved in the downfall of the Prince. The Parliamentary forces determined upon a blockade, and before long there was great distress in the town. Rupert held a council-of-war, when the following circumstances were considered:—

That they had not heard from the King for a long time. That there was no prospect of relief for the besieged. That powder had run short, and provisions could only be obtained by violence from the most loyal districts. That every morning brought intelligence of some town or fortress having surrendered, or of some deserted body of Cavaliers put to the sword. The council was composed of the most daring and gallant men that the war had spared—Hawley, Russell, Tillier, and others, who had faced death in a hundred fights; but they all felt that the great game had been played out and lost. Nevertheless, they did their duty to the last, so that, when Fairfax summoned the town to surrender, they all agreed that further resistance only meant the slaughter of the garrison and the destruction of the town. A long correspondence between Prince Rupert and Fairfax took place as to the terms of capitulation, which were certainly favourable under the circumstances—all the garrison, with Rupert

at their head, being allowed to march out in full military array.

A "news-letter" of the period says that Colonel Hammond, with his regiment of foot, stood at the port to receive the keys, and General Cromwell and other officers waited also at the port to receive the Prince, who was clad in scarlet, very richly laid in silver lace, mounted upon a gallant black Barbary horse. Cromwell accompanied him for about two miles over Durdham Downs, giving the Prince the right hand all the way. Charles was very angry with Prince Rupert for thus surrendering the town; but he had no alternative, for all the officers at the council-of-war decided that such surrender was inevitable. Nevertheless, we find the following notice issued by the King:—

"CHARLES R.

"Whereas by several respective commissions from us and from our dearest son the Prince of Wales our nephew Prince Rupert hath been constituted General of all our forces within this Kingdom under our said dear son we have thought fit and do by these presents upon weighty considerations moving us thereunto revoke and disannul all commissions investing our said nephew Prince Rupert with any military authority whatsoever within our dominions; and of this all commanders, officers, and soldiers are required to take notice.

"Given at our Court at Raglan the 14th of September, 1645."

Thus did Charles treat his most able, faithful, and loyal general. Ay, and he did worse still. Because the Prince entertained a warm friendship towards Colonel Legge, the King conceived unjust suspicions of Legge's faithfulness, and not only removed him from the governorship of Oxford but also wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas to arrest him. On the King's going to Oxford, Nicholas expostulated with him so strongly concerning Legge's arrest, that he was released and restored to his position as Groom of the Bedchamber, but not to that of governor of the town. Colonel

Legge used the opportunity of so close an intercourse with the King in endeavouring to heal the breach between Rupert and his uncle, in connexion with which the following interesting letter * has come down to us, showing the intense esteem Legge had for the Prince, and his loyalty to Charles, notwithstanding the ill-treatment he had received :—

“21st November, 1645.

“My most dear Prince,

“The liberty that I have got is but of little contentment when divided from you. Four days after his Majesty's arrival here Mr. Ashburnham fetched me to kiss his hand without expostulation for my commitment, since which I have waited in the chamber. The first discourse I had with him was concerning you, when he gave me a relation of the unhappy breach between you, which I would to God had never been. But now that which is past cannot be recalled, I shall humbly beseech you to look forward to what may be the best for your future honour and advantage. Since I had the honour to be your servant I never had other desire than faithfully to serve you and when I leave to pursue that, may I die forgotten ! I have not hitherto lost a day without moving his Majesty to recall you, and truly this very day he protested to me he would count it a great happiness to have you with him, so he received that satisfaction he is bound in honour to have, and what that is, you will receive from the Duke of Richmond. The King says as he is your uncle he is in the nature of a parent to you and swears if Prince Charles had done as you did he would never see him without the same that he desires from you ; I beseech you consider well of your affairs and let me but receive your directions and there never shall be anything wanting that may render me

“Your most obliged faithful servant,

“W. LEGGE.”

A few days afterwards Colonel Legge wrote to the Prince a still stronger letter, but these wise exhortations had not the desired effect at the time. I ought here to mention that when Prince Rupert saw the King's proclamation depriving him of his various military offices, he desired to be tried by a court-martial, to which the King

* Warburton, iii. 211.

acceded, and at which he was most honourably acquitted, Charles also consenting to the verdict ; but a reconciliation did not take place between them then, though it was brought about before the royal cause was utterly lost.

After the fall of Oxford, Legge went abroad ; and now a noble trait in his character comes to the front. At Dieppe he met Sir John Berkeley,* who told him that the King was in the hands of the army, having been seized at Holmby House by Cornet Joyce, who with a guard of four hundred horse had carried him towards the army, producing no authority whereby to warrant these proceedings. Legge did not think twice, but immediately set out for England to join his royal master, and to aid him in every possible way during his captivity. Seeing that Charles had so unjustly imprisoned Legge shortly before this, it speaks volumes in favour of our hero that he thus heaped coals of fire upon the King's head. Charles, as is well known, was ultimately taken to Hampton Court and placed under the charge of Colonel Whalley. There he was suffered to enjoy the company of his children whenever he was pleased to desire their attendance ; also he was allowed to hunt, on his promise not to attempt to escape. All persons whom he wished to see obtained ready admission to his presence ; and what he prized above all other things was the opportunity of corresponding freely and safely with the Queen at Paris. Colonel Legge was also permitted to wait on the King.

Just about this time there arose a fanatical sect called Levellers, who held opinions similar to those of the Socialists of the present day, with a little dash of our present Anarchists' doctrines, for they do not seem to have even thought assassination wrong under certain circumstances. In religion they rejected all coercive

* "Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley."

authority; and in politics they taught that it was the duty of the people to vindicate their own rights and to do justice to their own claims. These opinions spread throughout the army, and were willingly received by the dissolute, the adventurous, and the discontented. The King was seldom mentioned by them but in terms of abhorrence, and was styled an Ahab, the everlasting obstacle to peace, and the cause of dissension and bloodshed.

Charles now began to fear for his safety. He saw that the violence of the Levellers daily increased; that the officers who professed to be his friends were become objects of suspicion; that Ireton had been driven from the council, and even Cromwell threatened with impeachment; that several regiments were in a state of complete insubordination; and that Fairfax himself doubted his power to restore the discipline of the army.*

The King had, as I have said, given his word of honour not to escape. He now sent for Whalley and told him that he must withdraw it, for he had noticed that he had been as narrowly watched as if no credit were given to his promises. On being told this by the King, Whalley doubled the guards and dismissed the King's servants with the exception of Legge; also the gates were closed against the admission of strangers. Lingard, however, doubts whether these precautions were taken with any other view than that of lulling the suspicions of the Levellers, for Charles still possessed the means of conferring personally with Ashburnham and Berkeley, and received from Whalley repeated hints of the dangerous designs of his enemies.

On November 10th, 1647, the King's apprehensions were greatly increased by some alarming intelligence. He also had received an anonymous letter warning him of danger to his person. "Faithful Will Legge" planned an

* Lingard, vol. viii. 185-186.

escape for the King; for on the next evening Berkeley and Ashburnham were appointed to be at a certain spot, the latter with as much money as he could carry. Then, when quite dark, the King, accompanied by Legge, went down a back staircase into the garden, and having found Berkeley and Ashburnham, they proceeded on foot to Sutton, where horses were in readiness for the four. The King thought that they should reach Sutton three hours before daylight, but they lost their way, and it was daybreak before they got there.

Meanwhile there was much commotion at Hampton Court. Whalley went into the King's apartment about supper-time, but, instead of the King, found on his table several written papers, one of which was an anonymous letter warning him of danger to his person. Another letter was from Charles, containing a message from himself to the two Houses of Parliament, promising that though he had sought a more secure asylum, he should be always ready to come forth whenever he might be heard with honour, freedom, and safety. I cannot find that Whalley took immediate steps to pursue the King; and perhaps, as the night was dark and stormy, he deferred the matter till daylight.

After leaving Sutton with his three attendants, Legge, Ashburnham, and Berkeley, the King determined to seek a temporary asylum at Titchfield House, the residence of the Countess of Southampton. Legge remained with him, whilst Berkeley and Ashburnham went on to the Isle of Wight to sound the disposition of Hammond, the governor. Not knowing what reception might await them there, they advised the King that if they did not return the next day his Majesty should think no more of them, but secure his own escape.* Ashburnham did, however, return, and

* Berkeley's *Memoirs*, page 378.

Hammond with him. This at first greatly disconcerted the King, but after a short time he received the Governor and accompanied him to the Isle of Wight. The Governor ordered every demonstration of respect to be paid to his royal guest, and lodged him in Carisbrooke Castle. Parliament, not long after this, ordered Colonel Hammond to send up Legge and his two companions as prisoners, but on remonstrance they were allowed to remain with Charles until December 29th, when they had to leave the island. For some months Legge and Ashburnham lingered in Hampshire endeavouring to contrive the King's escape, but they were apprehended on the 19th of the following May, and Legge was confined in Arundel Castle.*

Some months after Legge's imprisonment the celebrated Newport Treaty was entered into between the King and the Parliament, and whilst it was proceeding, I find from the Journal of the House of Lords† that a number of the King's friends were allowed to go to the Isle of Wight to wait upon him, which permission was refused to Ashburnham and Legge, as the following entry will show :—

“Resolved : That Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Wm. Legg be not admitted to go to the King and to attend him during this treaty. Mr. Ashburnham standing in the first exception from pardon and Mr. William Legg being under restraint.”

Being a prisoner, Colonel Legge was not able to be with his royal and beloved master during his last bitter trials ; but the King, who was so sensible of his sufferings and had so high an opinion of his fidelity, a little while before his death charged the Duke of Richmond to tell the Prince of Wales from him that whenever he was restored to his rights he should be sure to take care of “Honest Will

* Ashburnham, page 148.

† 31 Aug., 1648, vol. x., page 484.

Legge," for he was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had.* This act on the part of King Charles shows that there was down deep in his heart some excellent traits. Selfish though he had frequently seemed to be, on this occasion the reverse was the case: for when all the terrors of a public execution were upon his mind, he thought of his faithful friend and did his best to requite his services. It seems to me that this circumstance should be known and dwelt upon, for amidst the deep gloom of Charles's last hours this almost hidden virtue shone forth, giving a brighter side to his character, and thereby calling forth feelings of sympathy and pity for the fallen and, perhaps, martyred king.

After the death of the King, Colonel Legge was released, but he and his family suffered great hardships. Still, his loyalty did not in the least abate, and Charles II. despatched him on a mission to Ireland. He embarked on board a frigate belonging to Prince Rupert, commanded by Francis Darcy, an Irishman, and Sir Hugh Windham, his lieutenant. Two frigates, however, under instructions from the Parliament, attacked and seized the vessel, taking the captain and Colonel Legge prisoners.† The latter was imprisoned at Plymouth; and I find in the *Journal of the House of Commons* of 21st July, 1649, this entry:—

"Ordered that Colonel W^m. Legge now a prisoner in Plymouth be forthwith removed and committed prisoner to the gaol at Ilchester in the County of Somerset for High Treason."‡

Thence it would seem that he was removed to Arundel Castle, in Sussex, and when there he applied to the Speaker, Lenthall, for permission to go abroad, who obtained it for him. This act of kindness on the Speaker's part was not

* Collins, vol. iv.

† Cal. State Papers, 1649–50, page 235.

‡ Vol. vi., page 269.



CHARLES THE SECOND.

From a Painting by Kneller.

forgotten by Legge, who afterwards had the opportunity of showing his gratitude. Collins says that Legge accompanied Charles II. to Scotland in 1650; and there is a tradition in the family that he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle by the Marquis of Argyll for attempting to dissuade the King from marrying his daughter. Legge was, however, released by the Marquis at the request of the King.

The next year Colonel Legge accompanied Charles in his march to England, and fought bravely with the Royalists at the battle of Worcester on September 3rd, 1651, but was wounded and taken prisoner. This time he was committed to Coventry Gaol, and would most certainly have been executed if his wife had not contrived his escape by hiring an old woman to carry to him a charwoman's clothes. By some oversight or neglect of the guards, the bundle was not examined, and Legge put on the clothes and otherwise so disguised himself as to appear to be one of the menial women employed to clean out the cells of the prison. So well did he manage this that, with a domestic utensil in his hand, he passed right through the guards and out of the prison door without being noticed.

A few years later, 1655, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, a young man named Henry Manning had insinuated himself into the circle of the King (Charles II.) at Cullen, professing to be a faithful Royalist like his father, who had been a colonel in the army of Charles I. and was slain in the battle of Alresford, in which battle he had himself also been wounded in the left arm and shoulder. These facts were well known to the King; and being a young man of good address, handsome in person, and apparently with plenty of money, he was thought to be a desirable addition to the little company that surrounded Charles. He was, however, a base villain, for he was

communicating all the time with Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary, and reporting all that passed at the King's little court at Cullen, for which nefarious services he was receiving money through an Antwerp merchant. In consequence of information received from this abandoned man, our hero, "Honest Will Legge," was, with the Earl of Oxford and others, arrested and again thrown into prison.* Not long after, however, Manning's villainy was discovered. Some circumstance arose which excited suspicion in the King's mind, and he sent a trusty messenger to Antwerp to intercept all letters addressed to Manning, and also those that he had sent to England. So dexterous was this person that he brought back with him Manning's letters of three posts, full of all the particular things done at Cullen and the very words spoken by the King and others. With these also there were letters from Thurlow expressing the satisfaction of Cromwell at receiving the particular information which Manning had forwarded. On these being opened and read the amazement of the King's party was great, and Manning was at once arrested and all his papers seized.

How long Legge remained in prison on this occasion I cannot say, but the next matter of importance connected with him happened in 1659, when the people were getting discontented with the Government and risings were designed throughout the kingdom. Charles II. gave him a commission to raise a regiment of foot, and handed him several blank commissions, to dispose of as he thought fit. He was also commissioned, with Arthur Annesley (afterwards Earl of Anglesey), John Mordaunt (soon after created Viscount Mordaunt), Sir John Granville (afterwards Earl of Bath), and Thomas Peyton, to promise pardon to all those who would aid in his Majesty's restoration except

* Collins, vol. iv., page 300.

those who sat as judges on his father. This commission was dated at Brussels March 11th, 1659, wherein Colonel Legge and the others whom I have mentioned were empowered by writing under their hands, etc., to offer such rewards as they thought proper, which he would ratify, confirm, and perform. They were so active in this commission that most of the nobility and gentry of England and Wales were engaged by them for the King's service, and a day in July was fixed for the rising; but that being deferred to August 1st the design took air, and only Sir George Booth with his friends appeared in Cheshire, and the Earl of Lichfield with some others in Surrey.

The King was in such expectation of the success of this commission that he went from Brussels to Calais, and had a shallop ready for his passage to England; but the time had not quite arrived for his restoration. Upon this failure, poor Colonel Legge was for the eighth time cast into prison. In the Calendar of State Papers I find this entry:—

“July 19th, 1659 *: ‘Col. Legg to be kept in custody.’”

Here he remained until September 30th, when a “council of state” had this note entered amongst their day's proceedings:—

“Order on petition of Col. W^m Legg, prisoner in the Tower, that the Committee for Examinations discharge him on parole and fit security.”

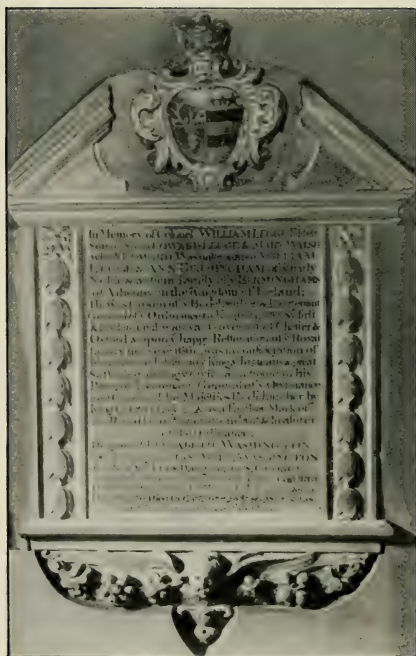
Legge's trials were now nearly over, for in the spring of the following year Charles was restored. He left the Hague on the 23rd May, and arrived at Dover on the 25th, where he was met by Monck and a numerous body of nobility and gentry; doubtless our hero was amongst them, though I do not find a note of it. The King made a triumphant entry into the City of London on May 29th,

1660, which was his birthday, and proceeded to Whitehall. Charles was not long before he communicated to Colonel Legge the message he had received, through the Duke of Richmond, from his royal father just before his death, which, he said, must entitle him to any marks of favour he could give him, and offered to create him an Earl before his coronation, which Legge modestly declined, having a numerous family with a small fortune; but he told the King he hoped his son might live to deserve his Majesty's favour. On which he was restored to his place in the bedchamber and lieutenantancy of the Ordnance, with a commission to be superintendent with general's pay. Also he was constituted Treasurer of the Ordnance, which, Treasurer Firth says, was worth about £2,000 a year.*

Besides these things, he was made colonel of an independent company of foot in the Tower of London, where he had so lately been confined as a prisoner. When in this high office I daresay he visited his former cell, and recalled to mind all he had suffered for his unflinching loyalty to Charles I. In 1661 he was chosen Member of Parliament for Southampton, and then the Abbey attached to my church was presented by the King to him for a London residence, a circumstance which has led me thus to give to the world a short history of this remarkable man. Also he retained the lieutenantancy of Aylesholt and Woolmer forests in Hampshire for forty-five years, and some lands of considerable value in Louth, in Ireland. Added to these the King conferred on him a pension of £500 a year for his own and his wife's life.

When Prince Rupert went to Vienna he constituted Colonel Legge "his sufficient and lawful Attorney and Commissioner, and in his name and to his use to act, manage, perform, and do all and all manner of matters

* "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxxii., page 416.



TOMB OF COLONEL WILLIAM LEGGE.

and things whatsoever which doth or may in any way concern him either with his Majesty, the Parliament, or any other person or persons whatsoever.”* In Lord Dartmouth’s collection of MSS. there are a number of autograph letters from Prince Rupert to Colonel Legge, which show that a strong friendship continued to exist between them. The following chatty one from Vienna will serve as a specimen:—

“Vienna, September 9th, 1661.

“Dear Will,

“By the last wrote to you, the kind usage of my brother the Elector to me, and the good office he did the King in this court. . . . I am now bargaining for Hungarie wine, which is the chief business I have here. The Emperor has gone to Ebsdorf, two leagues off where he expects my greyhounds to course a stag. The worst news we have from Monticunly is that there is no chief commander, but himself, in health. The Turks retire, but threaten to come next spring with a puissant army. I am afraid that before this harvest pass they may make a plundering cavalcade into Stiria, which, if they intend it, will hardly be hindered. This is all the news I can tell you at present.

“Farewell, dear Will,

“RUPERT.”

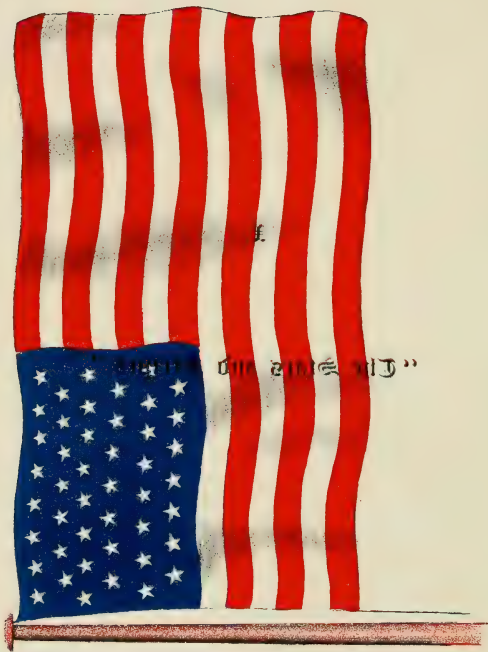
During the time Colonel Legge lived in the Abbey he presented Holy Trinity Church with the two handsome silver flagons shown on page 446, the full particulars of which I have there given. While at this London residence he died of a fever, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried in our church with great solemnity: Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Ormond, and most of the Court, being present at his funeral,† on October 20th, 1670. I have been told that the cost of the funeral was £1,400, a large sum for those times. Thus ended the remarkable, the noble, and the loyal life of “Honest Will Legge.”

* “Collins’s Peerage,” vol. iv.

† Idem, page 302.

Æ.

“The Stars and Stripes.”



Æ.

“The Stars and Stripes.”

It may perhaps seem a little strange to my readers that there should be anything in my church which should lead me to write a chapter upon the national flag of the United States. This, however, is the case; for the brave and excellent wife of Colonel William Legge was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Washington of Packington, and niece of Lawrence Washington, the great-great-grandfather of the renowned George Washington, the founder of the American Republic.* In consequence of this marriage, Colonel Legge impaled the Washington arms upon his escutcheon, as will be seen on his tomb (page 302), and they are quartered upon that of the first Lord Dartmouth (page 365), which circumstance has greatly interested American visitors to the church, and therefore I have felt impelled to write some account of the connexion between these arms on the escutcheon of the Dartmouth family and the “Star-Spangled Banner.”

I will, however, first say a few words about this good wife of Colonel Legge and of her family connexions. She was, as above mentioned, the daughter of Sir William Washington. Her mother was the second daughter of Sir George Villiers, and sister to the Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I., in whose reign he occupied so prominent a position, and was raised by the King, first to a knighthood, then to a

* See Appendix for pedigree.

baronetcy, thirdly was created Viscount Villiers, then Earl of Buckingham, and, in the succeeding year, Marquess of Buckingham. This last dignity was succeeded by his appointment to the great office of Lord High Admiral, and by his being sworn a member of the Privy Council. He was also appointed High Steward of Westminster, Constable of Windsor Castle, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

As the Duke's name appears on the tomb of Colonel Legge, it will be quite within the range of this work if I say a little about him. It will be remembered that he accompanied Prince Charles to Spain on a most romantic adventure—to get a sight of the Infanta Donna Maria, to whom Charles had been betrothed by his father. The two started off under the assumed names of Thomas and John Smith, their sole attendant being Sir Richard Graham, Master of the Horse. Riding post to Canterbury, where they took fresh horses, they were stopped by the Mayor as suspicious persons, whereupon the Marquess was constrained to take off his beard and to satisfy the Mayor by stating that he was going in that private manner to survey the fleet as Lord High Admiral. At Dover they found the Prince's private secretary, Sir Francis Cottington, and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had provided a vessel for their use, on which they embarked, and landing at Boulogne, proceeded to Paris, and thence travelled through France to Madrid. Whilst there, James continued to lavish favours upon Buckingham, and sent out letters patent, dated 18th May, 1623, creating him Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry.

The Prince and Duke failing in the object of their journey, departed from Madrid 12th September, and arrived at Portsmouth in October, when his Grace was



GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

From a Painting by Mircveldt.

made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court.

The death of King James followed in about a year and a half, but the influence of Buckingham experienced no diminution. His Grace officiated as Lord High Steward at the coronation of Charles I., and was in great favour at Court; with the people, however, he was very unpopular, and they attributed to him all the national grievances under which they believed themselves to be labouring. The failure of an expedition to the Isle of Rhé for the relief of Rochelle, completed his unpopularity. To remove the ground he had lost by this untoward enterprise, he projected another expedition, and had repaired to Portsmouth in order to forward its sailing. Here, while passing through a lobby, after breakfasting with Sir Thomas Fryer and other persons of distinction, he was stabbed to the heart by one John Felton, a lieutenant in Sir John Ramsey's regiment. The Duke died instantly, and his assassin, instead of attempting to escape, acknowledged the murder, though before his execution he deeply repented of the crime. Buckingham had then only just completed his thirty-sixth year.* Charles mourned for him in secret, and took every care of his wife and family. This, then, was the uncle on her mother's side of Colonel Legge's wife, Elizabeth Washington, whom he married in 1640, and who so bravely bore with him his numerous trials and persecutions, and was, as before mentioned, the means of saving his life when he was imprisoned at Coventry.

Another uncle of Elizabeth's, on her father's side, was Lawrence Washington, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Rector of Purleigh, Essex, whom I have already mentioned as the great-great-grandfather of George

* Burke's "Extinct Peerages," page 557.

Washington. His son John Washington emigrated to Virginia, and soon after his arrival settled at Pope's Creek, where he married Anne, the daughter of the gentleman from whom the stream took its name. He afterwards removed to the parish of Washington, Westmoreland County.

As I have noticed that the Washington arms are impaled upon Colonel Legge's escutcheon, and quartered on that of the first Lord Dartmouth's, let me now say something about these arms, and their relation to the national flag of America. There has been much discussion as to whether the arms of the Washington family was or was not the foundation of the "Stars and Stripes." Those opposed to the idea, say that Washington himself never referred to the circumstance, and they contend that he would have done so if such had been the case. As far as I can find, it seems to be the only argument on their side, whereas the reasons brought forward on the other side by an American writer in the *Historical Magazine** appear to be very conclusive. This writer calls attention to these facts:—

1. That the Washington crest was an Eagle, like that on the arms of the United States.

2. That the colours of the coat are the predominating or principal colours of this flag, viz. red and white.

3. That though the Act of Congress prescribed that the number of States should be indicated by *stars*, which in English heraldry (*estoiles*) consist of six or more points, they adopted, nevertheless, the five pointed figures of Washington's shield, which are called mullets (French *molette*), and generally are meant to represent the rowel of a spur.

These three striking coincidences, the writer thinks,

* April, 1865, page 113.

could not be accidental, but must have been designed, and thereby, he says, the flag received an additional lustre from the silent honour paid to Washington, and which, I think, quite explains why the General never referred to it.* When conversing with the late Lord Dartmouth upon the matter, he expressed a very firm belief in these arms being the foundation of the American national flag; and as he was descended in a direct line from Elizabeth Washington, I think his opinion, combined with that of the writer of the American article, goes far to decide the question. At first the number of stars and stripes were equal, as indicated in the following resolution passed in the American Congress, 14th June, 1777, the year after the "Declaration of Independence":—

"Resolved: That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars white on a blue field representing a new constellation."†

In consequence of the admission of Vermont (March 4th, 1791) and Kentucky (June 1st, 1792) into the sisterhood of the Union, an Act was passed in 1794 to increase the stars and stripes to fifteen, and reads as follows:—

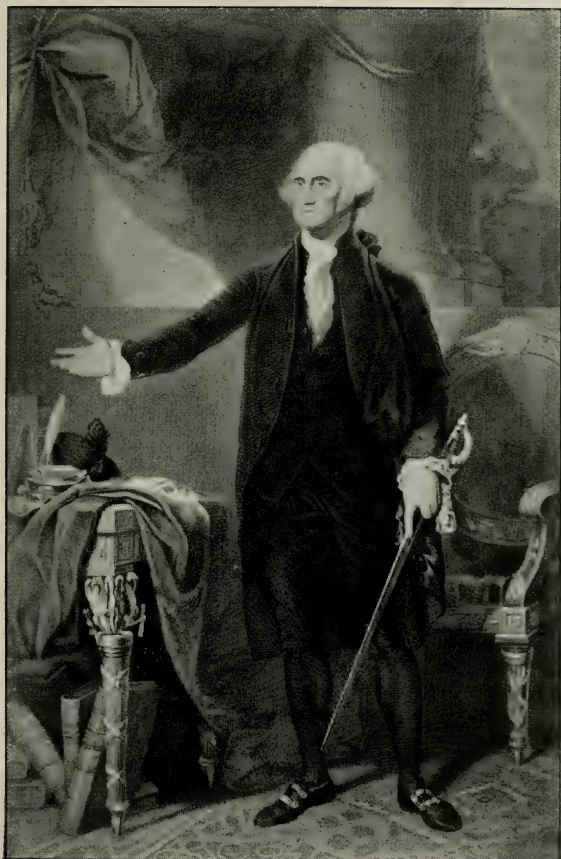
"*Be it enacted*, etc. That from and after the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes alternate red and white; that the Union be fifteen stars white on a blue field."‡

After a few years, five more States were admitted to the

* It has been stated in several American works that a Mrs. Ross, who was for many years the flag-maker to the Government, suggested the five-pointed star, and that Washington approved of the design in her back parlour.

† Admiral Preble's "History of the Flag of the United States of America," page 259 (Boston edition, 1880)."

‡ Idem, page 308.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

From a Painting by Gilbert Stuart.

Union, which rendered it desirable to make a further change in the flag. Accordingly the Hon. Peter Wendover, of New York, proposed a resolution in 1816 :—

“That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States.”

Much discussion arose upon the question when it became apparent that to go on continually altering the flag by increasing the stars and stripes would lead to not a little confusion, and it was not till April 4th, 1818, that the following Act was passed :—

“Sect. 1. *Be it enacted*, etc. That from and after the fourth day of July next the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes alternately red and white ; that the Union have twenty stars, white on a blue field.”

“Sect. 2. *And be it further enacted*. That on admission of every new State into the Union one star be added to the union of the flag ; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission.”*

It will be noticed that they determined to go back to the thirteen stripes, for it was properly argued that the constant increase of them would render them so narrow as not to be seen at a distance ; but by the regulation of this Act the thirteen stripes would represent the number of States whose valour and resources originally effected the Independence of the United States, and the stars would mark the increase in their number since the adoption of the present constitution. The present number of States I am informed by the Secretary of the American Embassy to be forty-five ; therefore, that will be the number of stars now in the flag, of which I give a coloured illustration at the commencement of this chapter.

Having said so much upon the National Flag of

* Preble, page 345.

America, I feel that I must tell the story of the National Song relating to it, entitled "*The Star-Spangled Banner*," and which I will presently quote from Admiral Preble.* The author was Francis Scott Key, by profession a lawyer, who was born August 1st, 1779, and died in Baltimore January 11th, 1843. This national song, which has immortalised his name, was inspired by his witnessing the bombardment of Fort McHenry, September 13th, 1814.

The circumstances are these. Mr. Key left Baltimore in a vessel carrying a flag of truce, for the purpose of procuring the release from the British fleet of Dr. Beanes, of Marlborough, who had been taken prisoner. On arrival at the fleet, Key was kindly treated by the Vice-Admiral, Sir Alexander Cochrane, who invited him to dine with him, but he would not let him return lest the intended attack of the British fleet upon Baltimore should be disclosed. The Admiral apologised for not accommodating him on board his own ship (*The Royal Oak*) during his detention, saying it was already crowded with officers of the army, but that he and his friend, Mr. Skinner, would be well taken care of on board the frigate *Surprise*, commanded by his son, Sir Thomas Cochrane, to which frigate he was accordingly transferred. Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner continued on board the *Surprise* until the fleet reached Patapsco and preparations were made for landing the troops. Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flag to the frigate, that he might be able to move further up the river and superintend in person the attack on the fort by water; whilst Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner were sent on board their own vessel, with a guard of sailors and marines to prevent them from landing. They were permitted to take Dr. Beanes with them, and thought themselves fortunate in

* Page 721.

being anchored in a position which enabled them to see distinctly the flag of Fort McHenry.

Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner remained on deck during the night of the bombardment, watching every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell, and listening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. It suddenly ceased ; but as they had no communication with any of the enemy's ships, they did not know whether the fort had surrendered or the attack been abandoned. They paced the deck for the remainder of the night in painful suspense, watching with intense anxiety for the return of day, and looking every few minutes at their watches to see how long they must wait for it ; and as soon as it dawned, and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance, their glasses were turned to the fort, uncertain whether they should see there the Stars and Stripes or the flag of the enemy.

When the light dawned they saw that their national flag was still flying, and as the day advanced they discovered from the movements of the boats between the shore and the fleet that the English troops had been roughly handled and that many wounded men were being carried to the ships. At length Mr. Key was informed that the attack on Baltimore had failed, that the British army was re-embarking, and that he, Mr. Skinner, and Dr. Beanes would be permitted to leave the fleet and to go where they pleased as soon as the troops were on board and ready to sail. When Mr. Key first saw in the morning the Stars and Stripes waving over the fort and the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, he wrote a few lines of this song upon the back of a letter he happened to have in his pocket, which he finished in the boat on the way to the shore, and on reaching an hotel copied it out very nearly as it now stands. In 1840 the

author seems to have been asked for an autograph copy by some friend, which he made with a few verbal alterations. This autograph is still in existence and very much prized; a lithographed copy is given by Preble, of which the following are the words of three of the verses :—

"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

" O ! say can ye see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd by the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose bright stars and broad stripes through the clouds of the
fight,*

O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming ?
And the rocket's red glare, the bomb bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.

O ! say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave ?

" On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes ;
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses ? †
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream.

'Tis the star-spangled banner ; O ! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

" Oh ! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their lov'd homes and the war's desolation.
Blest with victory and peace, may the Heav'n-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserv'd us a nation !
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto—" In God is our trust " ; ‡
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

" Washington, October 21, 1840."

" F. S. KEY.

* "Through the perilous fight" is now the common version.

† This line at present reads "As it fitfully blows, now conceals, now discloses."

‡ "In God we trust" was, by Act of Congress, placed as a motto on the United States coins in 1861.

Chief Justice Taney, when speaking of his brother-in-law, Mr. Key, in reference to this song, says :—

“The scene which he describes, and the warm spirit of patriotism which breathes in his song, were not the offspring of mere fancy or poetic imagination. He describes what he actually saw, and he tells us what he felt while witnessing the conflict, and what his sensations were when the battle was over and the victory won by his countrymen. Every word came warm from his heart, and for that reason, even more than its poetical merit, it never fails to find a response in the hearts of those who listen to it.”

Hence, there is much historical interest connected with this National Flag of America; and I am glad that the Washington arms in my church have given me occasion to write this short chapter upon the “STARS AND STRIPES.”

Æth.

The Admiral of all the Fleet.



ADMIRAL GEORGE, LORD DARTMOUTH.

From an old and very scarce print by Vanderbanck.

The Admiral of all the Fleet.

THE next monument that must come under our consideration is that of George, Lord Dartmouth, the eldest son of Colonel William Legge of whom I have just been writing. It is a marble tablet on the north wall, placed near to that of his father's, of which I give a photograph on page 365. It will be seen that this great man inherited many of his father's noble qualities, which he had opportunities of manifesting during a very interesting period of English history.

George Legge was born in the year 1647, and was educated first at Westminster School, and then at King's College, Cambridge. As his father, however, very early intended him to enter the Navy, he placed him, when only seventeen years of age, under Sir Edward Spragge, the son of his second sister, and therefore George's first cousin.* A more illustrious tutor Colonel Legge could not have found for his boy, for Sir Edward distinguished himself so greatly in the Dutch wars that he was praised alike by friends and foes. That my readers may judge of the excellent training George Legge received under this good naval officer, I will give Campbell's description of him, who says—

“There are some men great in a particular way to a degree of eminence that exempts them from any blame, though possibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently,

* Charnock's “*Biographia Navalis*,” vol. i., page 282.

and nature herself sometimes infuses qualities into the breasts of men which particularly disposes them to a certain kind of life, and apparently disables them from following other pursuits ; but it very rarely happens that a man is alike equal to various and even opposite employments. In the camp, in the court, in the closet, he was equally able and esteemed. He was a soldier, a seaman, a statesman, a courtier, a man of business or a man of pleasure, as circumstances required ; and in every character he assumed he so far excelled, as to seem born and designed for that alone."

The same thing his contemporaries, his companions, and the world too, affirmed of Sir Edward Spragge, who, with a fine person and a gentle temper, had as solid an understanding, and as bold a spirit, as any counsellor or captain of that age.* With such a tutor, and with such a brave and loyal father, we should be right in expecting much from George Legge, and we shall find in the sequel that our expectations will be realised. Charnock says :—

"The relationship which subsisted between these two noble persons might on the one hand encourage the strenuous pursuit of fame, while example might on the other point out the most certain mode of acquiring it." †

Under this cousin, George Legge soon rose to the position of lieutenant, and distinguished himself during the greater part of the first Dutch war ; indeed, his conduct and his courage were such as to call forth the admiration of all his superior officers, so that, when not quite twenty years of age, he was appointed, in 1667, to the command of H.M.S. *Pembroke*. Though such a youthful commander, it did not excite jealousy and envy, because everyone was convinced that he had deserved it. Peace having been concluded, Captain Legge had not, for a time, much opportunity of increasing his reputation as a naval officer, but he was not a man to be idle ; and therefore

* Campbell's "Lives of British Admirals," vol. ii., page 274.

† "Biographia Navalis," vol. i., page 282.

applied himself to the study of mathematics, especially such branches of that science as have relation to the military art, with the result that he attained to great skill as an engineer, and was employed by Charles II. in that capacity. It was not an uncommon thing in those times for a naval officer to be given also a military commission, which was the case with Captain Legge, who succeeded his father, in 1669, in the command of an independent company of foot, and on the 7th December, 1670, was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.*

On the breaking out of the second Dutch war (1672) he was appointed commander of *The Fairfax*, under Sir Robert Holmes, during the very unequal and desperate attack made on the Dutch fleet and their convoy. Captain Legge's bravery and tact on this occasion, as well as at the succeeding battle of Solebay, on 28th May, were most exemplary. On this latter occasion the Duke of York, afterwards James II., commanded the fleet, and on removing his flag to *The Saint Michael*, was so fiercely attacked by the enemy that if it had not been for the assistance rendered him by Captain Legge's ship and three others, he would probably have been in imminent danger of being taken or destroyed.

Thus our young hero at only twenty-four years of age won no ordinary laurels. Charnock says that the service Captain Legge thus rendered to the Duke of York laid the foundation of the Prince's future attachment to him. Upon the death of Captain Turner, Legge was removed to *The Yorke*, and in the ensuing spring of 1673 was appointed to the command of *The Royal Catherine*, an 84-gun ship. Exactly a year after the battle of Solebay—viz. on the 28th May, 1673—another desperate battle was fought between the English and

* Charnock.

French on the one side, and the Dutch on the other, the English fleet being commanded by Prince Rupert. Again did Legge distinguish himself. Charnock says that the only ship taken from the enemy on this occasion struck her colours to *The Royal Catherine*. A little later on in the fight, Captain Legge's ship was boarded by the Dutch, whom he drove back with considerable loss, though at the same time his vessel was so injured that it was in danger of sinking. When he had driven the Dutch off, he managed to stop some of the leaks and carried the ship safely into harbour, though he had received several wounds.

In the third action, which took place in the same year and concluded the second Dutch war, Prince Rupert, being severely pressed by the united squadrons of De Ruyter and Banckert, sent Captain Legge with two fireships to create a diversion and extricate him from his difficulties. This service was so successfully and gallantly executed, that if the French, who were then to windward, had borne down as they ought to have done, the whole Dutch fleet would have been ruined.*

During this third engagement with the Dutch, Captain Legge's illustrious tutor was drowned, the particulars of which are so interesting that I must relate them. Sir Edward Spragge had been appointed Admiral of the Blue Squadron, and he hoisted his flag upon *The Royal Prince*. During the battle, so intent was Sir Edward, on the one side, and Van Tromp, on the other, at coming to a personal encounter, that their two flagships had fallen several leagues to leeward of their fleets, and continued fighting for many hours what might really have been called a naval duel. Van Tromp was at first in *The Golden Lion*, but after a fight of three hours it became so disabled that he changed his flag to *The Comet*, that had come up to his

* "Biographia Navalis," vol. i., page 284.

assistance; for the same reason Sir Edward had to leave *The Royal Prince* and go on board *The St. George*. This latter ship was found to be almost a wreck; he therefore determined to remove to a third vessel now near at hand, *The Royal Charles*. His boat had not rowed ten times its own length from *The St. George*, when a cruel cannon shot struck it; upon which the crew strenuously endeavoured to get back again, but before this could be effected Sir Edward was drowned; for though so great a seaman, he could not swim. It is said that he had clung so tightly to the side of the boat that when it floated up his body was head and shoulders above the water. The Dutch writers speak of Sir Edward's death with evident appreciation of his merits, and own that he was one of the bravest and best commanders that ever fought at sea; our own writers are profuse in the praises they bestow upon his valour.

The Royal Prince, upon which Sir Edward Spragge chose to hoist his blue flag, and which he first quitted during this remarkable personal encounter with Van Tromp, was a first-rate vessel of the burden of 1,400 tons, carrying one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and 780 men. She was exceedingly well built, and allowed to be as fine a ship as any in either of the fleets; but before Sir Edward left her all her masts were gone, most of her upper tier of guns were disabled, and in other respects she was little better than a wreck: 400 of her men were also killed. In this situation a large Dutch man-of-war bore down upon her with two fireships, resolved to burn, sink, or take her. The first lieutenant, afterwards Sir George Rooke, giving up all for lost, ordered the colours to be struck and the men to shift for themselves; but the chief gunner, Richard Leake, a bold, determined man, who had before given the strongest proofs of skill and courage, desired the lieutenant to leave the deck, and took upon himself the command. This

inspired the men with renewed courage, so that, in a short time, he sunk the two fireships and forced the man-of-war to sheer off. Leake then took *The Royal Prince*, wreck as she was, safely into port. This gentleman's two sons, Henry and John, fought gallantly by the side of their father in this struggle, when Henry was killed, but John lived to become the famous Admiral Sir John Leake. For these and other services Richard Leake was in 1677 made Keeper of the Ordnance Stores and Master-Gunner of England. Charnock gets quite enthusiastic when telling this story, and says Leake was a man whose name lived long in the memories of seamen, and should live for ever could his pen confer immortality. Then he adds:—

“These were amongst the great men who carried the glory of the English arms so high, and who effectually supported the honour of the flag.”

To return to Captain George Legge. In acknowledgment of his valour and skill in this memorable year, after the war he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth under His Royal Highness James, Duke of York. The next year the Duke retired from the office, and Legge, though only twenty-five years of age, was appointed governor. At the same time he was made Master of the Horse, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. On 15th June, 1674, though so young, he had the honour of entertaining, in his quality of governor, King Charles, the Duke of York, and a long train of the first nobility in a progress made by the King to Portsmouth. Continuing to increase still more in the favour of his sovereign, he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot in the year 1677. In 1681 he was promoted from the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance to that of Master-General, and in the same year was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council.



ADMIRAL GEORGE, LORD DARTMOUTH,
WHEN YOUNGER.

From a Painting supposed to be by Vivien.

See page 326.

I have on page 325 introduced an earlier portrait of our hero, which was in the collection of the late Earl of Dartmouth, who presented it to the colonel and officers of the Coldstream Guards (General Monck's regiment). This portrait appears in a most interesting work by Lieut.-Col. John Davis, entitled "*The History of the Second Queen's Royal Regiment*," in which will be found a full account of what Admiral Lord Dartmouth did at Tangier.

Mention was made above of the diligence with which he applied himself to the study of mathematics, and principally those parts relating to fortifications and other military operations. Charles, knowing how skilful he had become in these matters, gave him this year a special commission to visit all the forts and garrisons throughout England. This commission he executed with so much tact and ability that the King appointed him commander-in-chief! How proud Legge's family must have been of him, and doubtless his descendants still are; for it was no small honour for him to have been thus appointed at thirty-four to the office which his present Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge filled for many years with such distinguished ability.

On the 2nd of December in the same year Captain Legge was, by royal letters patent, raised to the dignity of a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Dartmouth, in the county of Devon, with remainder in case of failure of his issue-male to his brother William Legge, Esq., and his issue. The preamble of this patent is so interesting that I cannot refrain from quoting it:—

"That His Majesty remembering the great merits of William Legge, one of the grooms of the Royal bed-chamber to his late father, King Charles I.; especially in that unparalleled rebellion raised against him, in which being a person of singular skill and experience

in military affairs, as also a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully served him in most of the battles and sieges of those unhappy times ; also performed several eminent services to the said king since his most happy restoration : and further considering that George Legge, eldest son of the said William, following his father's steps in divers military employments, especially in sundry sharp and dangerous Naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life, for which respect, being made general of the ordnance and artillery, and one of the most honorable Privy-council, His Majesty thought fit to dignify him with some further honour, &c. &c."

I must now relate how on another important occasion the King made use of Captain Legge in an undertaking that required much engineering skill as well as military and naval ability. Charles had received Tangier as a dowry with Catherine of Braganza, which seaport had been taken by the Portuguese in 1471. Two years after his restoration the King determined to fortify it, and a large mole was constructed at great expense some 1,500 feet into the sea, the full particulars of which will be found in a work in the British Museum, published in 1669, and entitled "*A Short Account of the Progress of the Mole at Tangier.*" In 1683 the King, finding it impossible to support the garrison of Tangier out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any supply for that purpose from Parliament, as the last had shown a great dislike to his keeping up forces there, resolved to destroy the whole, notwithstanding the immense sums it had cost him in fortifying the place and in building a mole which rendered the port both convenient and safe. Charles also resolved to bring back the troops he had there into England.

The constant state of war which existed between the garrison and the Moors, and the great force of the latter, rendered this undertaking a very disagreeable and difficult one. The known prudence, engineering skill, and bravery

of Lord Dartmouth pointed him out as the most suitable person to be employed in so dangerous and delicate a command. He was, therefore, on 2nd August, 1683, appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet sent on this expedition. Also he was made governor of Tangier and general-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Africa, that by having the supreme command in every department vested in himself, those difficulties might be avoided which sometimes arise from the disagreement of officers employed to conduct different branches of the same expedition. Charnock says:—

“The trust with which he was invested on this occasion is at once a very convincing proof of the extent of his abilities and of the confidence reposed in him in consequence of the high opinion entertained of him by his sovereign.” *

Lord Dartmouth having hoisted his flag on board the *Grafton*, sailed soon afterwards. It required every varied talent that a commander could possibly possess, to enable him to execute with credit and propriety this arduous task, a task rendered highly irksome because the complete execution of it could only confer a negative kind of honour, while the failure of it in the most trivial point was sure to rouse reproach and entail disgrace. The destruction of the mole required almost as much engineering skill as its construction, for the masonry was nearly as solid as the rock itself. Then the removal of the defence of the town, which enabled the citizens with a handful of troops to resist the reiterated attacks of a host of Moors, required no little tact. That Lord Dartmouth succeeded in satisfying both the inhabitants and the troops, the following documents will show, which are still amongst the MSS. in the possession of the Dartmouth family. These documents

* “*Biographia Navalis*,” vol. i., page 285.

also remove any blame that may have been attached to King Charles for relinquishing possession of Tangier and for sending Lord Dartmouth to destroy both the mole and the fortifications :—

“ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF TANGIER TO HIS MAJESTY
KING CHARLES II.

“Tangier, October 8, 1683.

“May it Please Your Majesty,

“We the Mayor, Aldermen and incorporated inhabitants of your Majesty’s city of Tangier, having received from his Excellency George, Lord Baron of Dartmouth, a declaration of your royal pleasure that this place should be utterly demolished, and that we who are the inhabitants should all return to our own homes, do think ourselves bound in duty to express the deep sense we have of your Majesty’s most seasonable compassion to us in rescuing us from our present fears and future calamities, in recalling us from scarcity to plenty, from danger to security, from imprisonment to liberty, and from banishment to our own native country.

“We do all most thankfully acknowledge your Majesty’s great justice in taking care of our properties as well as of our persons, and for the satisfaction of all our equitable claims, of your Majesty’s most liberal indulgence to all strangers that are inhabitants, as well as to your natural born subjects, in ordering the transportation and accommodation of both at your own royal expense, and your Majesty’s most princely charity in making so particular a provision for the sick and the maimed, aged and infirm persons.

“We have all, for a long time, struggled with the many inconveniences, with the wants and terrors of this place, where our persons, our estates, our families, and our very religion have been for many years exposed to the Infidels, and we have endured all this in hopes that one day the place might answer all your Majesty’s royal cares and the vast treasure which merely for your subjects’ good your Majesty hath spent on it. But our own sad experience hath taught us quite the contrary, and we all utterly despaired of ever seeing it either a secure harbour or a defensible garrison, or a place of trade, and are extremely satisfied with your Majesty’s resolution of demolishing it lest falling into the hands of the Moors it might prove fatal to the commerce of Europe.

“We do therefore into his Excellency’s hands most gladly resign

our charter, and have humbly petitioned his Excellency to lay that and all our concerns at your Majesty's feet."

WM. SMITH (*Mayor*).

J. FORDEMELL (*Recorder*).

EDW. CHESTON.

ROBERT CUTHBERT.

DIEGO NARTOS.

FRANCIS EMES.

HENRY SPARKS.

JAMES BURINO VAN TRIST.

T. ROANE (*Town Clerk*).

FERN^{DO} BRISART.*

(And thirty-two other names.)

It will be noticed that the signatories acknowledge with gratitude the King's "liberal indulgence to all strangers that are inhabitants," as well as his "natural born subjects"; and out of the forty-two signatures eighteen of them would appear to be foreign names. This address is the more interesting because it shows most clearly the wisdom of destroying the town and the mole. The other address of the garrison is of equal interest and importance, and is as follows:—

"1683, Oct. 14, Tangier.—The most humble Address of the late Governor, the field officers, commandants, and the rest of the officers and soldiers of your Majesty's royal garrison of Tangier.

"May it Please Your Sacred Majesty,

"His Excellency Lord Dartmouth, your Majesty's Governor of Tangier and Captain-General of all your Majesty's forces in these parts, having imparted to us your Majesty's resolution of calling away the inhabitants and garrison and of entirely demolishing this place, we cannot on so extraordinary an occasion but humbly represent to your Majesty we do not only (as we are bound in duty) readily acquiesce in, but that we applaud and admire the wisdom of your Majesty's counsels on this important affair. It is a troublesome reflection to consider that those immense sums of money that have been expended on the Mole and the other works of this place, as well as in our maintenance, have in no measure answered your Majesty's royal expectations, and we are sufficiently sensible by a long and near view of the state of Tangier that, though your Majesty should yearly exhaust more treasure (if it were possible) than you hitherto had done, it would yet be with the same unsuccessfulness and despair of rendering either the harbour secure or the town safe. . . .

* Dartmouth MSS., page 96.

"We must therefore in the first place beg leave to express our humble thankfulness that your Majesty hath been pleased to commit the performance of your commands here to his Excellency the Lord Dartmouth, a person by whose hands we receive the testimonies of your royal favour with the utmost satisfaction, and whose conduct and vigilance in this great service is equal to the importance of it. We do next with all submission cast ourselves at your Majesty's feet with our most humble thanks for your tender and gracious care of us, and that you have thought fit to recall us to your more immediate service at home and the necessary defence of your kingdoms amidst the present just apprehensions occasioned by the late horrid conspiracy which still threatens your royal person and the disturbance of your government.

"It is with all the joy that hearts are capable of that we understand your Majesty's regard for us and that you have thought us worthy of the great honour whereunto you have designed us, which we must acknowledge to be the highest instance of your Majesty's goodness and bounty so it doth exact from us our utmost endeavours to deserve that good opinion your Majesty has graciously conceived of us, and we humbly take the liberty to assure your Majesty that no subjects have deeper impressions and a truer sense of their duty than we have, and that we shall never use unworthily those swords your Majesty hath been pleased to put into our hands, but employ them for the preservation and honour of your Majesty's sacred person and your royal service to the last drop of our blood."

The signatures follow * upon this address, a copy of which I have seen amongst the Dartmouth MSS., but which signatures are not given in the printed copy in the British Museum.

The great satisfaction expressed in these documents at the undertaking, and the esteem for Lord Dartmouth expressed by the troops, clearly show with what ability and judgment he carried out the whole operation, which called forth also the gratitude of Charles, who bestowed upon him £10,000 and several privileges and charters that were honourable, if not valuable.

This was at the end of March, 1684; therefore the matter

* Pages 97 and 98 Dartmouth MSS.

had occupied some eight months, and Tangier had been an English possession for about twenty years, when it was abandoned for ever.

Those interested in the subject will find an excellent article upon what took place during those twenty years in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1893, entitled "A Wedding Gift to England in 1662." See also Mr. Lord's "*Last Possessions of England*."

Early the next year Charles died (6th February, 1685) and James II., soon after his accession, confirmed Lord Dartmouth in all his previous appointments, and added to them the offices of Constable of the Tower and Master of the Horse.

Here I must tell an interesting story which Campbell relates. Two years after his accession (1687) King James made a short progress through a portion of England, when he was attended by Lord Dartmouth. Whilst at Coventry, the city presented his Majesty with a large gold cup and cover. On receiving it, the King turned immediately to Lord Dartmouth and said: "I would have your Lordship receive this cup and cover as a mark of the city of Coventry's concern for the sufferings of your father in it." We can quite imagine how much Lord Dartmouth would appreciate this generous and acceptable present, for my readers will remember how near his father, Colonel William Legge, was to losing his life when confined in Coventry Gaol.*

But a cloud was gathering over the Admiral. Hitherto fortune had seemed to smile on him at every turn; now, however, a series of troubles commenced, which at last completely crushed our distinguished and noble hero. For full twenty years his relations with the King when

* See page 298.



JAMES THE SECOND.
From a Painting by Kneller.

Duke of York had been almost those of a son to a father, upon which Charnock makes the following remarks:—

“He appears to have considered King James in a twofold light—first as his Sovereign, and next as his friend. As his prince he revered him, he obeyed him and he served him faithfully; as his friend he loved him.

“Esteemed as highly by the people as he was by the King, the character he had universally and deservedly established as a person of the highest rectitude and honour, he ever continued to maintain in its utmost splendour, so that those unpopular and unconstitutional measures which James soon after this attempted to introduce, are by no means to be attributed either to the counsel, the advice, or the support they received from Lord Dartmouth. Too wise not to observe, and too honest not to disapprove the conduct of the monarch, which hourly accelerated his own ruin, he failed not to offer such advice as appeared most likely to avert the storm then gathering.

“But, in making this last effort in his power for the service of a prince he dearly loved, he tempered the remonstrance of a friend with the modest submission of a subject. Having thus acquitted his conscience, nothing remained for him but to execute the commands of his Sovereign whom, while he kept possession of the throne, it certainly would have been treason to have disobeyed, at least in the line of his profession. However amiable the political light in which the Prince of Orange was held by every true friend of the liberty and welfare of his country, he certainly appeared on the coast of England in the character of an invader and an enemy. The only distinction between this invasion, and that ill-planned, ill-executed attempt of the Duke of Monmouth is, that the latter openly asserted his right to the throne, the other accepted it as the free gift of the people. The fruits of the one were certainly the establishment of British liberty and the happiness of the people; the event of the other was the execution of the Duke of Monmouth and his principal adherents for high treason.”*

So clearly and so truly does this paragraph describe Lord Dartmouth's difficult position, as well as testify to his high integrity, that I have given it in full.

On the 1st October, 1688, James appointed Lord Dartmouth Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet,

* “*Biographia Navalis*,” vol. i., page 286 *et seq.*

with instructions to prevent any ships of war approaching our coasts, and "to endeavour, by all hostile means, to sink, burn, take, or otherwise destroy or disable the Dutch fleet when and wheresoever he should meet with it." Lord Dartmouth would doubtless have honestly carried out these instructions had it been in his power to do so. Fortunately, however, the winds and waves were against him, or there might probably have been a mutiny in the the navy, for the most influential of the captains had been won over to the interests of the Prince of Orange; so that when, on the 24th October, it was proposed to put to sea and wait for the Dutch fleet on the coast of Holland, they had little difficulty in persuading a majority of the council that it would be hazarding the fleet to lie on that dangerous coast at this season of the year, and that it would be much better to stay where they were, at Gunfleet. The fleet was accordingly lying at Gunfleet when, on the 3rd November, the Dutch fleet was seen in a hard gale at E.S.E., making its way to the westward. Tide and wind were against him, and Dartmouth was obliged to remain at anchor till the next day, when he got to sea.

There had been a meeting of those captains who were in the Prince's interest, some of whom were of opinion that if Dartmouth came up with the Dutch and attacked them, they were bound in honour to do their duty. Others held that they should, on such an occasion, leave the fleet and join the Dutch off Beachy Head. A council of war was called, which was so managed that the result of it was not to fight if in honour it could be avoided.

A westerly gale in the night settled the question by driving the fleet back into the Downs. There it remained nine days, and on the 16th of November sailed again to the westward; but meeting another gale, the ships, partly from stress of weather and partly, it is supposed, by

predetermined want of seamanship, were scattered, and made their way in disorder to Spithead. When the fleet was there, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet that were well inclined to him thought it time to show themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto declared themselves on the Prince's side.

These officers had a meeting, at which they determined to send a message to his Highness to "assure him of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders." This, however, was to be done in secrecy and by word of mouth, and Byng* was fixed upon to undertake the difficult and dangerous undertaking, which he consented to do. Accordingly, he obtained leave of absence from Lord Dartmouth on pretence of going into Huntingdonshire upon affairs that very much concerned him. He then landed at Gosport, and disguising himself like a farmer, set out to meet the Prince of Orange. After passing through a number of dangers, and having narrowly escaped being arrested, he at last reached the residence of the Earl of Bristol at Sherburne, where the Prince was staying.

The first person he met with who knew him was Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the top of the stairs asked him what he did there. Byng desired that he would ask no questions, but carry him to a private room where he might see Mr. Russell, who had come with the Prince from Holland. Lord Churchill did as he was desired, and then Byng communicated his message to Mr. Russell, who immediately conducted him to the Prince of Orange, on which everyone retired from the room excepting Mr. Russell. Byng then delivered to his Highness the message from those officers of the fleet who had engaged to assist him.

* Afterwards created Lord Torrington.

The Prince expressed great satisfaction at such welcome assurances, received Lieutenant Byng with great civility, and promised if he succeeded, that he would take care particularly to remember him. He then sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth to urge upon him the necessity of his coming over, and promising that it would oblige him for ever to be his friend.

This letter the Prince advised Byng to put into the stuffing of his saddle, in order that, if he were seized, it should not be found upon him. He thought it best, however, to quilt it in his trousers. In this he was doubtless right, for he might have had his horse taken from him, and could not have insisted upon retaining the saddle without suspicion. Byng returned safely to the fleet, but there was some difficulty to know how to get this letter delivered to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal for King James was so well known. Captain Aylmer, however, undertook it, and one morning privately laid it upon the Admiral's toilet-table. The letter is still extant, and is amongst the MSS. in possession of the Dartmouth family, which I have seen, and the following is a copy :—

“1688. Nov. 29th.

“The Prince of Orange to Lord Dartmouth.

“My Lord,

“The Protestant religion and the liberties of England being now at stake, I cannot believe you will contribute towards the destruction of either. I therefore send you this letter to invite you earnestly to join the fleet under your command with mine, and to declare as I have done in my Declaration for the Religion and Liberties. It will be an act so commendable that it will not only oblige me for ever to be your friend, but even to study which way I may shew my kindness to you in the most particular manner. I expect and desire you to consider well of this proposition and advice, and that I may speedily receive the news of your compliance, which will make me your affectionate friend.”*

* Dartmouth MSS., page 219.

This letter was endorsed by Lord Dartmouth thus :—

November 29th, 1688.	The Prince of Orange.
December 12th	„ Received at Spithead.
„ 12th	„ Answered by Captain Aylmer.

This letter had some effect on him, and from that time he seemed a little inclined towards the Prince's party, though in his heart there was still a strong feeling of loyalty towards the King, for whom he felt a personal affection notwithstanding James's faults and follies. Indeed, he was in great doubt how to behave with regard to the officers in the fleet whom he knew to be favourable to the Prince, and at the same time act according to his principles and consistently with his duty to the King. Just at this time there was a plot to seize his person, and place the Duke of Grafton in command of the fleet in his stead. In order to carry out this design, Captain Hastings invited the Admiral on board his vessel to dinner, which invitation he did not accept, as the plot had been discovered to him by Captain Davy Lloyd.

The letter that I have just given from the Prince of Orange, though written on 29th November, did not reach Lord Dartmouth, as I have shown, till 12th December. Meanwhile several very important circumstances had occurred, which I shall proceed to relate: First was a letter from King James asking his help in conveying the young Prince of Wales to France, which is as follows * :—

“Andover, 25 Nov., 1688.

“King James II. to Lord Dartmouth.

“I send this you by the Lord Dover, whom I send to Portsmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myself, intending to be there to-morrow, and have ordered all my

* The Dartmouth MSS., page 215.

army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with some others.

"I have charged Lord Dover also to speak with you of my intentions concerning my son, and you must follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our said son by being an assistance to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to say more.

"JAMES R."

The next letter* was written by the King from Whitehall, and is still more definite:—

"Whitehall, 29th Nov., 1688.

"This is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my son; though the other was from Andover as I remember, it will not have been delivered to you sooner than this. That was not given to you sooner still hoping things would not have been so very bad as they are. 'Tis my son they aim at and 'tis my son I must endeavour to preserve whatsoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and which with as much secrecy as may be, and so that trusty men may be put in the yachts that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea; and I shall look on this as one of the greatest piece of service you can do me.

"JAMES R."

Several other letters were sent by the King to Lord Dartmouth in reference to the smuggling away the Prince of Wales; but before I give Lord Dartmouth's reply I would just recall to my readers that the four sons of James by his first wife, Anne Hyde, had all died, and that this son by his second wife, the Princess Mary d'Este, was born on 10th June, 1688, and consequently when James wrote these letters to Lord Dartmouth he was not quite six months old. Many reports were spread that the birth of the Prince was an imposture to secure the crown to a Popish successor. But James agreed to the matter being investigated, when

* The Dartmouth MSS., page 220.

depositions were taken of forty persons of honour (twenty-three of whom were Protestants), who declared the *bona fides* of the Prince's birth.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Lord Dartmouth considered the infant child as the lawful heir to the throne; and hence he most earnestly, but with all respect, pointed out to James how wrong it would be to send him to France. The letter containing this advice is very long, but I will give some large extracts from it, because it shows the uprightness of Lord Dartmouth's character, and indeed I am taking it from a copy of the original given by the late Frederick Devon, formerly assistant keeper of Her Majesty's Records, who wrote a "Vindication" of his Lordship's conduct soon after Macaulay's attack upon him appeared.* I have also compared it with a copy amongst the Dartmouth MSS. On perusing this letter my readers must bear in mind that Lord Dartmouth wrote it before he had received the one from the Prince of Orange:—

"Spithead, 3rd of December, 1688.

"Lord Dartmouth to King James.

"Yesterday in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me and brought me two letters from your Majesty: one dated at Audover the 25th November, the other at Whitehall on 29th, with a postscript of the 30th on the subject of sending away the Prince of Wales; . . . with the greatest dread and grief of heart imaginable I understand your Majesty persists in your former intentions and consultations, held with my Lord Dover, in sending away the Prince and conjure me to be assisting therein. I need not tell your Majesty how strict the laws are in this matter, nor after so many experiences of my duty and loyalty to your person need I lay before you fresh assurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treason to your Majesty and the known laws of the Kingdom of so high a nature as this, when your Majesty shall further deliberate on it, I must humbly

* I am obliged to my esteemed friend Mr. W. Thynne Lynn, Mr. Devon's nephew, for calling my attention to this interesting pamphlet.

hope you will not exact it from me ; nor long entertain so much as a thought of doing that which will give your enemies an advantage, though never so falsely grounded, to distrust your son's just right, which you have asserted and manifested to the world (in the matter of his being your real son born of the Queen) by the testimony of so many witnesses. Pardon me therefore Sire if on my bended knees I beg of you to apply yourself to other counsels, for the doing this looks like nothing less than despair to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement but distrust of your friends and people . . .

"Your Majesty knows I have always professed myself of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promises of being any other ; and therefore as such, and a faithful servant, subject, and counsellor, I beg leave to advise you and give you my humble opinion that sending away the Prince of Wales without the consent of the nation is at no time advisable, and therefore the doing of it at this time especially, and that to France, being what I dread, will be of fatal consequence to your person, crown, and dignity ; and all your people will grow so much concerned at this your great mistrust as to throw off their bounden allegiance to you, which God forbid. . . .

"Pardon me therefore Sire that I most earnestly implore you not to make me the unhappy instrument of so apparent ruin to your Majesty and my country as an act of this kind will be ; and I hope your Majesty will not suffer it to be done by any other, for I can foresee nothing less from it than the putting in hazard your own sacred person and the Queen's, and making England the most miserable nation in the world.

"Remember Sire how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes and the courses you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you but to put you in mind of doing it now at last ; and for Heaven's sake Sire as you have made a great step towards reconciliation by publishing your royal intention of calling a Parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly. God in his infinite mercy will preserve you and your royal issue, and the Church of England will defend you in all just rights, and remove the disturbers of your peace, and settle you as great and firm on your throne as any of your predecessors.

"Pardon me Sire for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a pure heart and concern for you and yours ; and what has passed between us on this unfortunate subject shall never be an injury to you by being made known from me, and I know your goodness is too great to think ill of your constant and faithful

servant or to impute to me any disobedience ; for what I have thus most humbly laid before your Majesty is really and honestly from the utmost and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preservation ; for as I will not be instrumental in, nor suffer him to be carried to France, if by any means I can prevent it ; so on the other hand I will frankly venture my life in your Majesty's and his defence, and as to the last expedient, I can at present propose nothing more essential to your Majesty's great service than in delivering him safe into your own royal custody, and the sooner your Majesty gives me order for it, it will be the better.

"Sire I am afraid if I go home, the Dutch fleet will soon be here, and I likewise fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portsmouth, therefore I desire your Majesty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you speedily, and that you will please to recollect yourself and apply reasonable means to prevent what you seem to be under such dreadful apprehensions of. Your Majesty may see in what confusion I am so that I can say no more but my daily prayers to God Almighty to direct and prosper you."*

This is not the whole of the letter, but what I have quoted will be sufficient to show what a manly and faithful adviser James had in Lord Dartmouth ; and one must feel that, had the King taken his advice on this and other occasions, his position would have been a very different one. I want my readers also to notice that loyalty to his country stood in Lord Dartmouth's mind before obedience to his King ; indeed, in the remaining portions of the letter he distinctly states that he will do his best to prevent the wishes of the King being carried out in reference to his son. It must also be noticed how strongly Lord Dartmouth declares his determination to adhere to the Church of England ; and therefore the aspersions made by his enemies afterwards in reference to his religious views were without the slightest foundation.

The next most important event which happened before Lord Dartmouth received the letter from the Prince of Orange was the escape of the Queen with the infant Prince

* Dartmouth MSS., page 275.

to France, in reference to which James wrote thus to Lord Dartmouth* :—

“Whitehall, 10th Dec., 1688.

“King James II. to Lord Dartmouth.

“My affairs are, as you know, in a desperate condition, that I have been obliged to send away the Queen and the Prince, to secure them at least, whatsoever becomes of me, that am resolved to venture all rather than consent to anything prejudicial to the crown or my conscience; and having been basely deserted by many officers and soldiers of my troops, and finding such an infection got amongst very many of those who still continue with me on shore, and that the same poison has got amongst the fleet as you yourself own to me in some of your letters, I could no longer resolve to expose myself to no purpose to what I might expect from the ambitious Prince of Orange and the associated and rebellious Lords, and therefore have resolved to withdraw till this violent storm is over, which will be in God’s good time, and hope that there will still remain in this land seven thousand men who will not bow the knee to Baal and keep themselves free from associations and such rebellious practices.

“I know not whether any of the fleet under your command are free to continue serving me; if they are their best course will be to go to Ireland, where there will be some that will stick to me. If any are free to go, order them thither, to follow such orders as they shall receive from Lord Tyrconnel. If they will not, there is no remedy, and this I may say never any Prince took more care of his sea- and land-men as I have done and been so ill repaid by them. I have not time to say more, being just a going to take horse.

“JAMES R.”†

This letter of the King to Lord Dartmouth was forwarded by Mr. Samuel Pepys, with a gossiping letter from himself, of which the following few paragraphs are so characteristic of that famous Diarist and eminent Secretary to the Admiralty :—

“Dover Castle was seized two days since by some of the rabble of that Town, not headed by any officer that I can hear of, civil or military, but the contrary, as the Mayor of the Place writes to my Lord Preston they were applied to by the Mayor with endeavours to dissuade them from the attempt. But they persisted, and in number

* Dartmouth MSS., page 226.

† Idem, page 226.



SAMUEL PEPYS.
From a Painting by Kneller

(not above 30) executed it with success, and they are now masters of it. A skirmish happened yesterday somewhere near Reading between a party of the Prince of Orange's and some Irish Dragoons of the King's, with very ill success on the Dragoons' side with this addition to it, that upon their retreating for shelter to the Town of Reading the people of the new town are said to have shot at them out of their windows.

"Of the two battalions of the King's Scotch Guards quartered as I take it at Maidenhead, one of them, Lieutenant General Douglas being himself at their head, could not be prevailed with by him to the contrary, but to a man, officers and all, before his very face abandoned him, and went away towards the Prince's forces. The Roman Catholics of quality daily betake themselves to flight, my Lord Peterborough being said to have withdrawn yesterday and my Lord Salisbury last night having with difficulty escaped after having been stopped in the city by getting himself out of his coach and riding away upon one of his servant's horses. Others for reasons are said to flock away too, men of the Long Gown I mean, whose names, till I am more certain of them, I shall not venture to mention; and both of the gowns, I mean gospel as well as law, the Bishop of Chester as well as Mr. Attorney-General for instance. God, who only knows what is best, grant a quick and happy issue to that just indignation of his under which we are this day fallen." *

The two great occurrences alluded to in the above letter and in the King's were the flight of the Queen with the Prince and that of the King himself. The Queen's flight took place on 6th December, in the evening, when she privately left Whitehall with a nurse, carrying in her arms the Prince, then about six months old, and accompanied by the Count of Lausanne and a few other attendants. She crossed the Thames in an open boat on a dark night, with a heavy rain and a high wind, whilst the river was swollen, and at the coldest season of the year. A common coach had been ordered to wait for her upon the opposite side, but by some accident it had been delayed for an hour. During this time she took shelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth. She sometimes turned

* Partmouth MSS., page 226.

her eyes, streaming with tears, on the Prince, who was sleeping on her arms, unconscious of the miseries which sometimes attend upon royalty, and who on that account raised the greater compassion in her breast. At other times she would look towards the City and, amongst innumerable lights, endeavour to distinguish those of the palace in which her husband was left.*

Poor babe ! How different were the circumstances surrounding you at that time and those which are now attending the dear little one just born at White Lodge, the first-born son to the charming Princess May, and great-grandson to our beloved Queen ! The papers are teeming with joyous paragraphs this Monday morning, June 25th, 1894,† though yesterday it was known that on Saturday evening, June 23rd, at ten o'clock the royal child had entered this world of joy and sorrow to play his part, if his life should be spared, as the future king of England in a direct line. In Holy Trinity, Minories, yesterday we sang the National Anthem with the utmost heartiness, whilst joy seemed to beam on every face, not only on account of the auspicious event, but because God had for so many years blessed England with such a truly noble and pious Queen, for whom, as well as for the Princess May and her darling babe, we offered up special prayers.

Here I would ask my readers to turn to my dedicatory address to Her Royal Highness and to give another look at the lovely picture, photographed by Miss Alice Hughes, which faces it. One of the ladies-in-waiting at York House kindly told me of this group, with which I am delighted, and I think my readers will be so too. I must thank Miss Hughes not only for presenting me

* Dalrymple's "Memoirs."

† This page was written on the above date.



CHILDREN OF JAMES THE SECOND.

From a Painting by Nicolas Largillière.

Photographed by Messrs. Walker and Boutall.

with a copy but for cordially permitting me to reproduce it in this work.

Asking forgiveness for this slight digression, I must now return to the poor Queen (Mary of Modena), whom we left shivering in the cold and wet under the wall of the old church at Lambeth. In an hour the coach came which carried her to Gravesend, where a vessel was ready to convey her to Calais; on arriving at that place her troubles, to a great extent, ceased, for Louis XIV. treated her with great hospitality and, going himself to meet her, received her with much pomp and ceremony.* Of this baby boy, Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, Largillière later on painted a pretty picture, in which his sister, Princess Louisa Maria Theresa Stuart, also appears (see page 347).

When the Queen was gone, the King felt the solitude of the palace, and suspected an enemy or betrayer in every person whom he met. Lord Halifax endeavoured to increase this feeling in the King's mind by stating that his person was in danger from the Prince of Orange, and that he only had a short time to save himself. James, upon this, prepared for the flight to which he alludes in his letter to Lord Dartmouth. He gave, however, secret warning to Father Petre and Lord Melfort to avoid a danger which he knew their unpopularity would bring upon them; but he left Jeffreys to his fate, perhaps thinking it just that he should share those miseries which he had in part been the immediate and willing instrument of inflicting on others.†

On the 11th December, at three o'clock in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales and two servants, James withdrew by a secret passage from Whitehall, desiring the Duke of Northumberland, who was lord-in-waiting, not

* Macaulay, vol. ii., page 603.

† Dalrymple, vol. i., page 239 (edition ii.).

to mention what he had seen until the morning, nor did he, probably wishing to give the King a chance of escape. Sir Edward Hales had provided a hackney coach which conveyed the party to Millbank, and there they entered a small wherry. As it passed Lambeth James flung the Great Seal into the water—a foolish as well as a malignant act, corresponding with his burning the writs for the new Parliament and also giving Feversham orders to disband the army before his flight from Whitehall. The basest motives only could have prompted James to do these things, the object doubtless being to avenge himself upon a people who had been impatient of his despotism by inflicting on them for a time all the evils of anarchy.

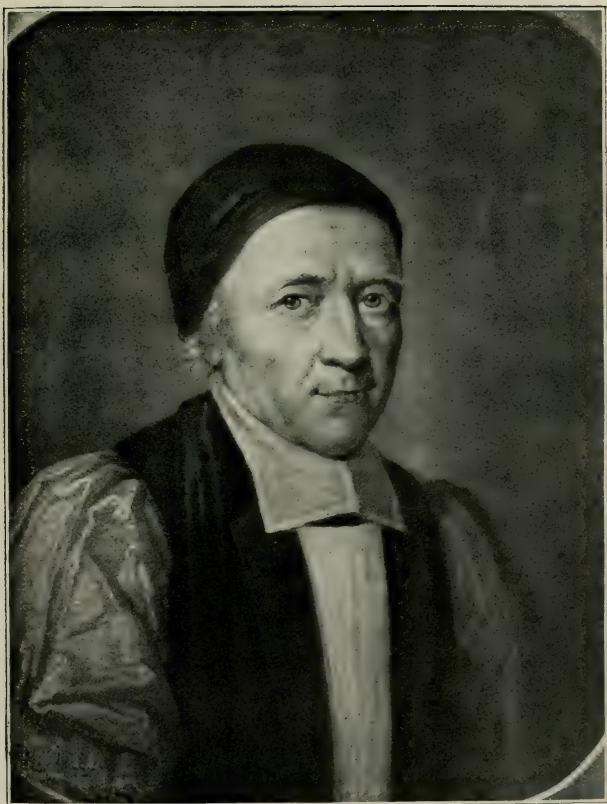
It seems to have been the custom of the Court at that time for the Lord of the Bedchamber to sleep on a pallet in the King's room, and Northumberland remained there till the morning, as desired by the King, and did not open the royal apartments till it was broad daylight. The ante-chamber, Macaulay says, was filled with courtiers who came to make their morning bow and with the lords who had been summoned to Council. The news of James's flight passed in an instant from the galleries to the adjacent streets, and very shortly through the whole of London. It was a terrible moment. The King was gone; the Prince had not arrived; the Great Seal, essential to the administration of justice, had disappeared. Soon it also became known that Feversham had received instructions to disband the army. Apparently nothing was before the country but anarchy, turbulence, and violence.

In this state of disorder, both in public affairs and in the spirits of men, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lamplough, Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, and some twenty noblemen, most

of whose names appear on page 353, went down to the Guildhall, assumed the reins of government and formed themselves into a regular Council, fixed a council-room, appointed their clerks and times of meeting, and exercised all the powers of prerogative, Sancroft presiding. To the magistrates of London they gave commands to raise the militia; they issued orders to the fleet, to the King's disbanded army, and to all the garrisons in England. They removed Skelton, whom James had appointed Governor of the Tower, and put Lord Lucas in his place, because every gun that was fired struck the citizens with a frenzy of terror, imagining that Skelton was battering the city to pieces. They also published a declaration in which they censured the King for his flight, and resolved to apply to the Prince of Orange for protection. Their orders were everywhere obeyed, and though at first the population could not be restrained from gross acts of violence, in the course of a few days the country subsided into composure and subordination.*

On the 10th December Samuel Pepys, as I have shown, wrote a long letter to Lord Dartmouth containing instructions from the King, with a good deal of the gossiping information characteristic of him, which letter is still amongst the Dartmouth MSS. The next day he saw that it was his duty to give his support to the provisional government which was so necessary for the public safety. This sentiment was shared with him by many honest, able, and staunch Tories, who considered that the voluntary abdication of the King, without leaving any vicegerent in his place, released them from all obligation to him, especially as he had made no provision for the preservation of order or the administration of justice; for with him and the Great Seal had vanished the whole machinery by which

* Macaulay's "History," vol. ii., page 556.



ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

*From a Painting by Lutterel in the National Portrait Gallery.
Photographed by Messrs. Walker and Ruddle.*

a murderer could be punished, by which the rights of an estate could be decided, or the effects of a bankrupt could be distributed. And still worse, his last act had been to set free thousands of armed men from the restraints of military discipline and place them in a situation in which they must plunder or starve. Indeed, all thinking men could clearly see that, without a provisional government, in a few hours every man's hand would be against his neighbour, and that life, property, and female honour would be at the mercy of every lawless spirit.* Under such circumstances we are not surprised at finding amongst the Dartmouth MSS. the following letter from Pepys:—

“Admiralty, 11th December, 1688.

“Samuel Pepys to Lord Dartmouth.

“I wrote your Lordship last night by express, with one enclosed from the King, little suspecting from the contents of it (which he was pleased to make me privy to) that I should so soon have another to follow it as that which was brought me this morning by one to whom at his departure from Whitehall in the night he gave it, with the direction for his putting it into my hand for your Lordship, and which I accordingly forwarded to you by another express. Since which I have, with the Secretaries of State and other Ministers and officers, here attended by summons a council of Peers, spiritual and temporal, that upon advice of his Majesty withdrawing, did meet and have continued sitting all this day at Guild Hall; where among other commands one was to take the care of forwarding this enclosed order of their Lordships to you. Which I accordingly do, and with it have this only by way of news to give you, that I understand the like orders to have been issued by them to my Lord Feversham with regard to the Army.

“The Lieutenancy of the Tower they have likewise thought fit to take out of Mr. Skelton's hands and put into my Lord Lucas's. They have determined too upon a written message from them to the Prince of Orange and committed it to four of their number to attend his Highness for the delivery of it—namely, my Lord of Rochester, my Lord of Weymouth, my Lord Culpeper, and my Lord Bishop of Ely, if I remember their names rightly. It was expected too at my being

* Macaulay, vol. ii., page 558.

at Guild Hall that an address would at the same time be prepared and sent from the City, the Common Council being then sitting, as it was said, on that occasion."

The order referred to in the above letter is also among the Dartmouth MSS., and is extremely interesting because it gives the signatures of most of the bishops and noble-men who composed this first Council after James's flight. It will be seen that the two Archbishops head the list, and it must be noticed that the Council speak with authority:—

"Guild Hall, London,
"11th December, 1688.

"The Lords Spiritual and Temporal to Lord Dartmouth.

"Whereas His Majesty hath privately this morning withdrawn himself, we, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose names are subscribed, being desirous to prevent the effusion of blood in this juncture, and considering the Prince of Orange his fleet (*sic*) is now on the English coast and may possibly meet with that under your Lordship's command, we do therefore require you to give such necessary orders as you shall think fit for the prevention of all acts of hostility; and that no inconvenience may happen to the Fleet, we do likewise require you forthwith to remove all the Popish officers out of their respective commands.

" W. CANT.	THO. ROFFEN.	MULGRAVE.
THO. EBOR.	CREWE.	OSSULSTONE.
PEMBROKE.	T. JERMYN.	AILESBUURY.
THANET.	DORSETT.	BURLINGTON.
THO. CULPEPER.	SUSSEX.	WEYMOUTH.
NORTH & GREY.	BERKELEY.	VAUGHAN CARBERY.
CHANDOS.	CARLISLE.	THO. PETRIBURG.*
P. WINCHESTER.	ROCHESTER.	

When we consider that these men formed themselves into a provisional government a few hours after James left Whitehall, one scarcely knows whether most to admire their firmness, pluck and energy at this trying time, or

* Dartmouth MSS., page 229.

to feel astonishment at their orders being so promptly obeyed. Nevertheless, there was a considerable amount of lawlessness on the part of some of the lower orders of the populace, of which Macaulay has given a vivid description,* of which the following is an epitome:—

“All those evil passions which it is the office of government to restrain, and which the best governments restrain but imperfectly, were on a sudden emancipated from control—avarice, licentiousness, revenge, the hatred of sect to sect, the hatred of nation to nation. On such occasions it will ever be found that the human vermin which, neglected by ministers of state and ministers of religion, barbarous in the midst of civilisation, heathen in the midst of Christianity, burrow among all physical and all moral pollution in the cellars and garrets of great cities, will at once rise to terrible importance. So it was now in London. When the night approached there came forth from every den of vice, from the bear garden at Hockley, and from the labyrinth of tippling houses and brothels in the Friars, thousands of housebreakers and highwaymen, cutpurses and ringdroppers. With these were mingled thousands of idle apprentices who wished merely for the excitement of a riot. . . .”

First the rabble fell on the Roman Catholic places of worship. The buildings were demolished; benches, pulpits, confessionals, breviaries, were heaped up and set on fire. A great mountain of books and furniture blazed on the site of the convent of Clerkenwell; another fire was kindled before the ruins of the Franciscan house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The chapel in Lime Street and the chapel in Bucklersbury were pulled down; the pictures, images, and crucifixes were carried along the streets in triumph amidst lighted tapers torn from the altars. The King's printing-house was next attacked, because some Popish tracts had been issued from it, which was completely “gutted”—a coarse metaphor which Macaulay says was used on that occasion for the first time.

* “History of Eng.,” vol. ii., pages 559 *et seq.*

Perhaps, however, the worst and most senseless acts committed by this lawless rabble was their attack upon the residences of the foreign ambassadors. To this savage and ignorant mob the law of nations and the risk of bringing on their country the just vengeance of all Europe were as nothing. They had heard that the most valuable effects of the Papists had been placed under the care of these foreign ministers, and therefore, greedy for plunder, they determined to sack the Embassies. The mansions occupied by the ministers of the Elector Palatine and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany were destroyed. One precious box the Tuscan minister was able to save from the marauders: it contained nine volumes of memoirs written by the hand of James himself. They afterwards perished, however, in the French Revolution, a few fragments only being saved.

Two or three circumstances occurred during these outrages which show that even the vilest men can appreciate honesty in others. The French Ambassador Barillon, who was known to be liberal in his housekeeping and exact in his payments, was left unmolested, though the government he represented was held in abhorrence; whereas the residence of Rouquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, was destroyed, because he had made many enemies among the common people by not paying his debts, availing himself of his privilege as a foreign minister of not being liable to be sued in any of the courts. The rich plate of the Chapel Royal had been deposited in his house, which doubtless offered a strong temptation to the mob.

This destruction of the foreign Embassies gave the Lords who formed the provisional government very much concern, and they not only exerted themselves to restore tranquillity by an armed force composed of the train

bands and a body of cavalry, but also made such atonement as was at the moment possible for the gross insults which had been offered to foreign governments. The royal palace which James had just deserted was offered as a temporary residence to Rouquillo, where a sumptuous table was kept for him, and the yeomen of the guard were ordered to wait in his ante-chamber with the same observances which they were in the habit of paying to the sovereign—which marks of respect soothed even the punctilious pride of the Spanish Court and averted all danger of a rupture.

During this popular outbreak the Lord Chancellor, Jeffreys, was discovered in a low ale-house, disguised as a common sailor and begrimed with coal-dust. The alarm was given, and soon the house was surrounded by hundreds of people shaking bludgeons and bellowing curses. The wretched man's life was saved by the train bands, who carried him before the Lord Mayor, who had been greatly upset in body and mind by the events of the last twenty-four hours, so that, when he saw the man at whose frown, a few days before, all the kingdom had trembled, dragged into the justice room in such a plight, and followed by a raging multitude, he fell into a fit, and was carried to his bed, from which he never rose, but died soon afterwards. An order was obtained from the Lords at Guildhall to commit Jeffreys to the Tower, whither he was conveyed in a carriage with great difficulty, two regiments of militia escorting him to keep off the crowd, who brandished cudgels and held up halters before the wretched man's face. At length, having suffered far more than the bitterness of death, he was safely lodged in the fortress where some of his most illustrious victims had passed their last days, and where his own life was destined to close in unspeakable ignominy. Lord Dartmouth, as



WILLIAM THE THIRD.

From a Painting by Wissing.

will presently be stated, also died in the Tower, but under very different circumstances.

It was on the 11th (corresponding now to the 21st) December that the Admiral of the Fleet received instructions from the Lords-in-Council to remove from the fleet "all Popish officers"; and it seems that he promptly obeyed the provisional government, seeing that under the altered circumstances much confusion, and perhaps disorder, would arise if adherents of James still held command of some of the vessels. I said some of the vessels, because the larger part of the officers had already expressed themselves in favour of the Prince of Orange. It is, therefore, without surprise that we find from the following letter* that the Prince commended Lord Dartmouth for what he had done:—

"Windsor, Decr. 16th, 1688.

"The Prince of Orange to Lord Dartmouth.

"My Lord,

"I received your letter of the 12th instant December and am glad to find you continue firm in the Protestant Religion and Liberties of England, and that you resolve to dispose the fleet under your command to those ends; to which not only the fleet, but the army and the nation in general have so frankly concurred. Neither shall my care of the honour and dignity of this nation be wanting in matters of dispute between the two fleets as you seem to apprehend; I therefore send you such orders as are necessary to prevent that, and useful to this kingdom. As to the methods you have taken to purge the fleet from papist officers I approve very much of it, and as to all other matters in general I shall refer them to the ensuing parliament. I expect your speedy compliance with the orders I send you here enclosed, and when you have brought the fleet to the Buoy of the Nore I desire to see you that I may have your advice, not only relating to the fleet but to the public in general.

"I am, your affectionate Friend,

"PRINCE D'ORANGE."

I find many more manuscript letters which passed to and from the Prince of Orange and Lord Dartmouth, but

* Dartmouth MSS., page 235.

have not space for them. On the 10th January an order, signed by the Prince of Orange, was sent to Lord Dartmouth as Admiral of the Fleet, that so soon as the fleet should be safely brought to the Buoy of the Nore he should commit the charge and command of it to the next superior officer, and himself repair to the Prince's presence.* Dartmouth obeyed, and soon afterwards placed his resignation in the Prince's hands and retired into private life. With regard to this Charnock † says:—

“To have been continued in his command could not reasonably have been expected when we reflect upon the almost infinite number of adherents who repaired to William some time previous to the revolution, and whose claims were not of a nature to be disregarded. Delicacy, indeed, had there existed no other motive, would certainly have induced him (Lord Dartmouth) to have voluntarily solicited retirement ”

This retirement, however, he did not enjoy very long ; for, like all great and successful men, he had his enemies, who most unjustly accused him of holding traitorous communications with James ; and though such accusations were without any foundation, they were most unfortunately believed in long after, and even Macaulay has actually followed in the wake of these enemies of our hero, and without a careful investigation of the facts has stamped Lord Dartmouth's good name with the blot of treason in these words:—

“The treason of Dartmouth was of no common dye. He was an English seaman, and he had laid a plan for betraying Portsmouth to the French, and had offered to take command of a French squadron against his country. It was a serious aggravation of his guilt that he had been one of the very first persons who took the oaths to William and Mary.”

* Dartmouth MSS., page 285.

† “*Biographia Navalis*,” vol. i., page 289.

I am sorry to be obliged to accuse so eminent an historian of having in these sentences uttered what was untrue; yet that such is the case I am sure my readers will soon feel convinced, though doubtless Macaulay did not think them so at the time he wrote them. The only excuse that can be made for him is that the Dartmouth manuscripts were not published when he wrote his history,* and they show how earnestly and manfully Lord Dartmouth advised James to alter his course before the climax came, and how firm he was in refusing to do anything that would be an act of treason to his country, even though solicited by the King. I would beg my readers to turn back and read again Lord Dartmouth's letter to James on page 340, which is still amongst the State Records, and also in his Lordship's own handwriting; there is the full account of his arrest and examination, of which I will give an epitome.

Lord Dartmouth was staying at his country seat, The Holt, when one Sunday morning Mr. Philip Ryley, one of their Majesties' Sergeants-at-Arms, rode up to his door, accompanied by one servant. On alighting and asking to speak with him alone, Mr. Ryley in a very civil manner began to tell him that he had come upon a very unwelcome message, which he was sorry to deliver, but was obliged to obey the commands that were laid upon him, and then produced the following warrant:—

“Daniel Earl of Nottingham, Baron Finch of Daventry, one of the Lords of their Majesties' most Honorable Privy Council and Principal Secretary of State, etc.

“These are in their Majesties' name to authorise and require you forthwith to make strict and diligent search for George Lord Dartmouth, and him having found you are to apprehend and seize for high

* The third volume of Macaulay's History came out in 1858, and the Dartmouth MSS. were not published till 1887, nearly thirty years afterwards.

treason, together with his papers ; and to bring him in safe custody before me to be examined concerning such matters as shall be objected against him relating to the premises, and to be further dealt with according to law ; and in due execution hereof all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, constables, and all others their Majesties' officers civil and military and loving subjects whom it may concern are to be assisting to you, as there may be occasion. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at the Court at Whitehall the 11th day of July, 1691.

“NOTTINGHAM.

“To Philip Ryley, Esq.,
one of their Majesties'
Sergeants at Arms.”

Poor Lord Dartmouth ! This was a sad blow to him, innocent as he was of the charge, yet he bore it like a soldier, and at once made arrangements to go up to town. What hurt him much, however, was that Lord Nottingham should have ordered diligent search to be made for him, though he must have known that he was at his country seat.* Sergeant Ryley, who was an old friend, said that he was sure it required no warrant to bring him to town, and wished that he had been requested to do so by letter only. However, as he had received instructions that the warrant was to be served, with all respect imaginable he begged that Lord Dartmouth would arrange it as he pleased. It was therefore agreed that they should not travel to town on the Sunday, but that Mr. Ryley should stay to dinner and talk about forests and woods and any other indifferent subjects, and that he should then go to the King's Head at Egham, where they would meet in the morning. Accordingly, early on Monday morning he called for Sergeant Ryley, and they proceeded in Lord Dartmouth's chariot to his town house in Arlington Buildings. The next morning, Tuesday, the Sergeant

* As the warrants were always made out in this form, there was no special intention to wound Lord Dartmouth's feelings.

Ryley conducted him privately to Lord Nottingham's office, and from thence into the Cabinet Council chamber, where the Lord President, Lord Pembroke, Lord Nottingham, Lord Dorset, and Sir John Lowden were assembled. Many questions were asked Lord Dartmouth, to which he gave cool and decisive answers, of which the following are specimens:—

The Lord President.—"I must ask your Lordship another question; have you had no commission from King James?"

Lord Dartmouth.—"My Lords, I have many commissions by me both from King Charles and King James; they were no crime when I received them, and as they are of no use now I do not conceive they can be any crime now."

Lord President.—"Aye, but have you received no commission from King James lately?"

Lord Dartmouth.—"My Lords, I have neither received one word, either in writing or by message, from him, or sent any to him since his Majesty sent over Mr. Shelden for his horses and coaches, and he went from hence. My Lords, I am a plain man, and desire to answer plainly. I positively protest I have received nothing from him directly or indirectly."

This manly conduct and these plain answers did not avail to save him from being committed to the Tower, for his enemies produced false witnesses, who swore to their statements, wickedly untrue though they were. From the following letter, a copy of which is in the State Paper Office,* it is evident that Lord Dartmouth was merely lodged in the Tower, and was scarcely looked upon as a prisoner:—

"Whitehall, Aug^t 2, 1691.

"To Lord Lucas.

"My Lord,

"The Queen commands me to acquaint your Lordship that she would have you permit my Lord Dartmouth's relations and friends to visit him from time to time, transmitting unto me the names of such persons as shall resort unto his Lordship as often as

* Devon's "Vindication of Lord Dartmouth."

they shall come, and Her Majesty would have likewise your Lordship allow him the liberty of the Tower.

"I am your Lordship's most humble servant,

"NOTTINGHAM."

Whilst in the Tower rumours flew abroad of his being ill-treated, which had such an effect upon the sailors, who loved him as their father, that they assembled in great bodies on Tower Hill, where they expressed their resentment in such language that it was at length found expedient to desire Lord Dartmouth to confer with them; and on his assuring them that the report they had heard was destitute of any foundation, they gave a cheerful huzza and dispersed immediately.* Twice Lord Dartmouth petitioned the Queen to order his being released on bail, as he was perfectly innocent of the charge brought against him. The following is a copy of one of the petitions:—

"To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. The Humble Petition of
George Lord Dartmouth

"Sheweth

"That whereas your Petitioner is committed to the Tower of London for high treason, and there being at present no prosecution by indictment against him, nor is your Petitioner conscious to himself that any thing he hath done or said hath given reason or colour for such an accusation.

"Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays that your Majesty of your great goodness will be graciously pleased to give leave that he may be admitted to such bail as shall be approved for his appearance at any time or place as your Majesty shall be pleased to command.

"And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"Presented 11th Aug^t 1691."

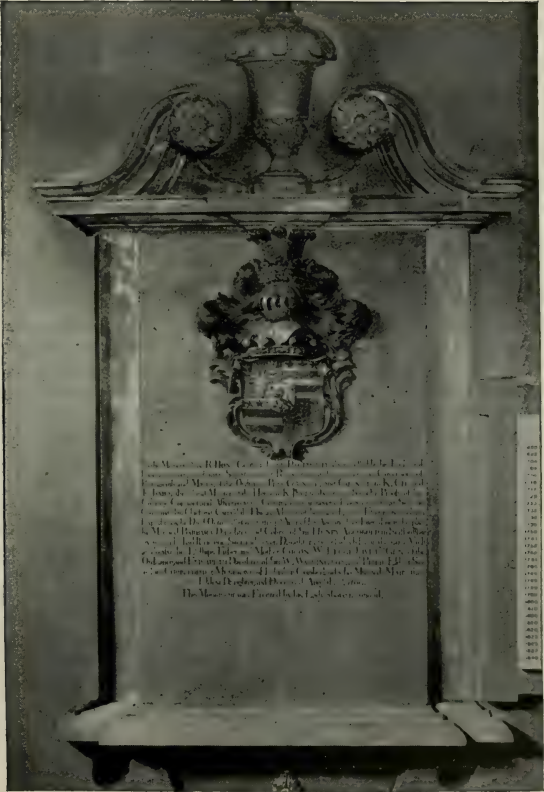
In another petition he pleaded that he had never been confronted with his accusers, which ought to have been done before his commitment, and that therefore his

* Campbell's "Lives of British Admirals," vol. ii., page 523.

imprisonment was illegal. Notwithstanding these earnest pleadings, Lord Dartmouth was still left in the Tower, the consequence of which was that grief and indignation broke his heart, and he died on 25th October, 1691, at the early age of forty-four. A request being made by his friends to allow his body to be removed for honourable burial, Lord Lucas raised some objection, upon which an application was made to the King. It happened that William had at last become convinced of the innocence of Lord Dartmouth, and was arranging for his release when he died. Indeed, the King afterwards told his son William that if his father had lived two days longer, he would have been released.

Nothing, however, could be done now for the injured nobleman except to publicly exonerate him from the charges that had been brought against him. William therefore ordered that his funeral should be conducted with the same respect and pomp as if he were still holding all his offices, and that the Tower guns should be fired as the *cortège* passed out of its gates. Also he ordered his pension of £1,000 a year as Master of the Horse should be paid till his decease, which pension he afterwards continued to his son William, whom he created an Earl and appointed him a Secretary of State.

What more could King William have done to prove to the world that he was convinced of the innocence of this great and good man? And ought not Macaulay to have been more careful before he uttered the cruelly unjust assertion, "The treason of Dartmouth was of no common dye"? Might we not rather write that the integrity, the loyalty, and the abilities of Admiral George, Lord Dartmouth, were of no ordinary character, all of which he devoted to the service of his country, which he loved so well? He was buried in the family vault under the chancel of my church, and was laid beside his most estimable father;



TOMB OF ADMIRAL GEORGE, LORD DARTMOUTH,
IN HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES

See page 336.

the marble monument erected by his wife Barbara being on the north wall, of which there is a photograph on page 365, and the inscription is as follows:—

“TO THE MEMORY of R^T HON. GEORGE LORD DARTMOUTH distinguished by his Early and Eminent deserts and many Signal marks of Royal trust and favour. He was Governor of Portsmouth and Master of the Ordnance Privy COUNSEL and CABINET to K. CH. and K. JAMES the 2nd, Master of the Horse to K. James. After many Singular Proofs of his Courage, Conduct, and Affection to his Country, given in several Engagements at Sea. He Commanded in Chief and Carry^d the Flag as Admirall of the whole English Fleet in two solemn Expeditions. He died Oct^r 25th, 1691, in the 44th year of his Age and was buried near this place. He married BARBARA Daughter and Coheir of Sir HENRY ARCHBOLD in Staffordshire, by whom he had one Son and seven Daughters two of which lye in the same Vault, as do also his L^{ds}ships Father and Mother, COLON^L W^M LEGGE LIEUT^{NT} GEN^L of the Ordnance and Elizabeth Daughter of SIR W^M WASHINGTON ; and PHILIP Eldest Son of SIR CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE of Ednall in Cumberland who married MARY the Eldest Daughter, and Deceased Aug^t the 2nd 1688. This Monument was Erected by his Lady above mentioned.”

Lady Dartmouth was allowed to live with her husband when he was in the Tower, and she was with him when he died.*

There are, I find, amongst the Dartmouth MSS. a number of letters from Lady Dartmouth to her husband, giving him the particulars of what was going on in London, just at the time when James quitted the Kingdom, but I fear I have not space for them beyond the one I have already quoted. She was, as the monument states, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Archbold, and had one son, William, and seven daughters. This son became

* “Luttrell's Diary.”

the first Earl of Dartmouth. Thus ended the short but well-spent life of this remarkable man, who had been eminent almost from his boyhood, and England has reason to be proud of having had such a noble and loyal "Admiral of all the Fleet."

III.

The Lord Mayor Pritchard.



SIR WILLIAM PRITCHARD, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON IN 1682.

From a Water-Colour Painting in the Guildhall Library.

The Lord Mayor Pritchard.

I MUST now revert a little to tell what further became of the Abbey after the death of Colonel William Legge, which I have shown took place in 1670. In that year these buildings were described as consisting of certain storehouses belonging to his Majesty Charles II., a Mansion House lately occupied by and belonging to Colonel William Legge officially as Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and the whole of the remainder of the property, or a considerable portion of it, let to his son, Captain George Legge, for a term of twenty-nine years at a nominal rent, in consideration of the great trouble and expense sustained by his father in clearing his Majesty's right and title to the said premises. The next year by letters patent, dated the 15th November, 1671, the custody of the said Mansion House was committed to David Walter, Esq., Lieutenant of the Ordnance, who afterwards, in 1673, surrendered it to the King, which enabled Charles to bestow it upon Sir Thomas Chicheley.

This Sir Thomas Chicheley, or Chichelé, was a descendant of the brother of that most eminent Archbishop Chichelé who founded All Souls' College, Oxford. Mr. H. M. Stephens, in the "*Dictionary of National Biography*,"* says that the branch of the family to which Sir Thomas belonged was amongst the wealthiest in Cambridgeshire,

* Vol. x., page 231.

and many of its members served the office of high sheriff. Their seat was at Wimple, or Wimpole, and was one of the finest in the county. When only Mr. Chicheley, he was made high sheriff in 1637, and was elected M.P. for Cambridgeshire in 1640; but as a zealous Royalist who had fought for the King, he was disabled from sitting in 1642, and, further, was punished as a malignant in the time of the Commonwealth, and had to compound for his estate of Wimple by a heavy payment. After the Restoration he was again elected M.P. for Cambridgeshire, in 1661, and manifested loyalty to Charles in every possible way.

Amongst the State Papers for 1667 I find this entry in reference to him:—

“Nov. 1. Order for a warrant to pay to Thomas Chicheley £4,000 for sums lent to the King during the usurpation from the two-thirds profits reserved to the Crown of the freights of ships of war sent to the Caribee Islands and permitted on return to bring back merchants’ goods reserving the remaining third to the captains.”

It seems from another entry that the profits only amounted to £102, and therefore Chicheley could not be repaid out of the proceeds of this expedition, whereupon the King wrote to Colonel Legge on May 27th, 1668, desiring him to pay Mr. Chicheley £5,400 out of the Exchequer customs, or with the money due from Daniel O’Neale to the Crown for saltpetre sold to him. This, from another entry, I believe was done. At this time Mr. Chicheley was living in great style, which Pepys thus mentions in his Diary:—

“11th March, 1668. Meeting Mr. Colvill, I walked with him to his building, where he is building a fine house where he formerly lived in Lombard Street and it will be a very fine street. So to Westminster; and there walked till by and by comes Sir W. Coventry and with him Mr. Chichly and Mr. Andrew Newport. I

to dinner with them to Mr. Chichly's in Queene Street in Covent Garden. A very fine house and a man that lives in mighty great fashion with all things in a most extraordinary manner noble and rich about him, and eats in the French fashion all ; and mighty nobly served with his servants and very civilly ; that I was mightily pleased with it : and good discourse. He is a great defender of the Church of England and against the Act of Comprehension, which is the work of this day about which the House is like to sit till night. After dinner with them to Westminster. About four o'clock the House rose and hath put off the debate to this day month."

On the 10th June, 1670, the King knighted Chicheley, made him Master-General of the Ordnance, and had him sworn in as one of the Privy Council. Three years afterwards, January 10th, 1673, Charles, in consideration of great services done by Sir Thomas to his Majesty, by letters patent bestowed on him and his heirs and assigns for ever the Abbey of Holy Trinity, now styled the Mansion House.* Now it happened that Alderman Sir William Pritchard had had his eyes upon the Abbey, much desiring it for his town house, and offered Sir Thomas £4,500 for it, which sum was accepted, and Sir William entered into full possession of this eligible mansion in 1673. This £4,500 would, I think, be equal to £10,000 of our present money, a goodly price, enabling us to judge a little of the extent and excellence of the building which has now entirely disappeared.

I thought at first I should have but little to say about this worthy alderman, but, thanks to Mr. Welch, the esteemed Librarian of the Guildhall Library, and to the marvellous British Museum Library, I have been able to hunt up some very interesting facts in reference to him. Sir William was the son and heir of Francis Pritchard, Esq., of Horseley-down, Southwark, who was born in 1607, and was lineally descended from Rhydderch, or Richard,

* This seems to be the origin of the name of our present Mansion House.

of Hendre, Carnarvonshire. His mother was a daughter of Edward Egleston, Esq. Of Sir William's early life I cannot find much, but on his tomb it is stated that he married Sarah, the daughter of Francis Cook, Esquire, of Kingsthorpe, in the county of Northampton, by whom he had one son, who died unmarried 16th March, 1695. It also states that Sir William died in 1705 at the age of 74, and therefore he must have been born in 1631, when his father was about 24 years of age.

There was living at this period a gentleman named Narcissus Luttrell, who kept a diary of all State affairs in a very similar manner to Samuel Pepys, with this addition that he also jotted down each day what passed in the city of London. This diary consists of seventeen volumes of manuscript, and is preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, to which it was bequeathed at the close of the last century. It dates from the end of September, 1678, to the 1st April, 1714, and we have a copy of it in six volumes in the British Museum, which was printed at Oxford in 1857.

Luttrell has twenty-one entries in reference to Sir William, but, I am sorry to say, none before 1682, when he gives an account of his being chosen Lord Mayor. Pritchard was knighted 28th October, 1672, when he was Sheriff of London, and ten years before his election as Lord Mayor. He was Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1673; and an excellent portrait of him, by Kneller, hangs up in their Hall. In those times, as now, there was sometimes a considerable commotion in reference to the election of sheriffs, and so it happened in September, 1682. The Whigs wished to have a Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, whilst the Lord Mayor (Sir John Moore) and the Tory party desired that Mr. Dudley North and Mr. Peter Rich should be the Sheriffs for the ensuing

year. Luttrell's report of this election 216 years ago * will, I think, amuse some of my civic friends:—

“September 19th being the day appointed for a Common[†] Hall to choose a person to serve with Mr. North for Sheriff of London and Middlesex, the Liverymen met at Guildhall in great numbers. About 11 the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen came upon the hustings; and the Common Crier proceeding to make proclamation, there was so confused a noise that nothing could be heard; then the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen retired into the Council-chamber and the Common Serjeant came forward on the hustings and put up Mr. Rich, at which there was such a noise of ‘No Rich,’ and that they would stand by their former choice, that nothing else could be heard. Then the Sheriffs came forward and put it to the Common Hall whether they would proceed to a new election or stand by their old choice; though many people it is thought held up their hands otherwise than they intended, for it was hardly possible to hear who was put up. But a poll being demanded and granted by the Sheriffs, they adjourned for an hour or two. Whilst this was doing the Lord Mayor came again upon the hustings and declared Mr. Rich lawfully chosen, though the noise was so great it could not be heard, and then dissolved the Hall and went to his own house.

“About two in the afternoon the Sheriffs[†] began the poll, during which time the Lord Mayor sent to them to desist for he had dissolved the Hall. But they proceeded on, and upon casting up the books found there was 2,082 standing to the old choice of Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois and 35 for Mr. Rich. The Sheriffs hearing that the Lord Mayor was come again hastened upon the hustings and declared Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois legally elected, and then ordered the people to depart; which done the Lord Mayor caused the gates of Guildhall to be shut up.

“The next day being the 20th, the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen went to Whitehall to inform his Majesty of the proceedings, and there were some affidavits made against the Sheriffs; wherefore a Council was summoned in the afternoon and the Sheriffs ordered to attend; which they doing, were told they had proceeded in a riotous manner which they must answer; so the two Sheriffs gave a recognizance of £1,000 each, and ten bails in £500 apiece to

* Vol. i., page 220.

† These were the sheriffs still in office, viz. Thomas Pilkington, Esq., and Samuel Shute, Esq.

appear at the King's bench bar on the 1st day of the next term, and to answer to an information there, and in the mean time to be of good behaviour, and so were dismissed."

The immediate finding of the enormous amount of this bail would seem to show that these sheriffs were very popular. To get ten men to consent to become bail for £500 apiece would even now be a difficult thing, and money was then worth more than double what it is now. Both sheriffs, on their trial, were heavily fined.

It appears strange that the Lord Mayor should have declared Dudley North and Peter Rich the sheriffs for the ensuing year, seeing that Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois had been elected by so large a majority of the liverymen; but at that time a Lord Mayor claimed the right of appointing one of the sheriffs if he chose to do so, and a little ceremony of drinking to him was soon gone through. This practice, Mr. A. F. W. Papillon says,* was first introduced in 1585, and it often met with the tacit assent of the masters, wardens, and liverymen of the City companies, with whom the choice of sheriffs rightly lay; but on various occasions this assumed right of the Lord Mayor was disputed, and on one of them the question was referred to the judges, who gave an equivocal opinion, recommending the acceptance of the mayor's nominee, but leaving the rights of the freemen an open question. The fact was that on this occasion it was really the King who desired the election of both North and Rich, and therefore some means were found for their being appointed, in spite of the election.

On the swearing in of these new sheriffs, further troubles arose, for when the Common Serjeant began to administer the oaths to them, Papillon and Dubois laid

* "Thomas Papillon of London, Merchant," page 207.

their hands also on the book, but the Lord Mayor commanded them in the King's name to depart in peace, which they did. Then North and Rich were sworn in, apparelled in their fur gowns and gold chains, and afterwards were presented by the Lord Mayor and Recorder to the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster.

On the 29th September, being Michaelmas Day, and the day for choosing a Lord Mayor for the ensuing year, all the aldermen below the chair were put in nomination, and the majority was declared to fall on Sir William Pritchard and Sir Thomas Gold, upon which a poll was demanded and granted by the Lord Mayor (Sir John Moore) for four—Sir William Pritchard, Sir Henry Tulse, Sir Thomas Gold, and Alderman Cornish. On the election taking place, Alderman Cornish was at the top of the poll; but after a scrutiny, it was found that several had voted who were not eligible, which gave the majority to Pritchard. The following entry in Luttrell's Diary,* though 216 years ago, reads exactly like a paragraph in *The Times* of to-day :—

“The 26th October (1682). The Recorder and several Aldermen went to the Lord Chancellor's to present (as is customary) Sir Wm. Pritchard as Lord Mayor elect, who well approved of their choice in his Majesty's name; and his Majesty was also pleased the next day personally to approve of the same.”

The next note relating to it is this :—

“28th October. Sir John Moore with Sir Wm. Pritchard (the new Lord Mayor elect) several of the Aldermen and Citizens of London came to Guildhall when the court proceeded to swear in Sir Wm. Pritchard to serve as Lord Mayor for the year ensuing; which being done they rode to Grocers' Hall to dinner; several of the companies of which the old Lord Mayor and the new one are free of, dining with them.”

* Vol. i., page 232.

I will now leave Luttrell, and will turn to another very old book we have in the British Museum, printed in 1682, giving the full particulars of the Lord Mayor's Show, which Luttrell says took place on the 30th October. This account of the show being very quaint, and giving an insight into the way in which these things were done in 1682, I have printed a large portion of the programme. The "Gentlemen Ushers," in plush and velvet coats, wearing gold chains, would seem to have had an office similar to that of the present stewards. The heading reads thus :—

"The Lord Mayor's Show
 Being a
 Description of the Solemnity
 at the
 Inauguration
 Of the truly Loyal and Right Honourable
 Sir William Pritchard, Kt.
 Lord Mayor of the City of
 London
 President of the Honourable Artillery-Company
 and a Member of the Worshipful Company of
 Merchant Taylors.

"The persons appointed for the service of the Day meet about seven o'clock in the morning at *Merchant Taylors'* Hall, and will be placed in the following order :—

- "I. The Master Wardens and Assistants in Gowns faced with Foyers.
- "II. The Livery in Gowns faced with Budge and their Hoods.
- "III. Divers Foyn Batchelors in Gowns and Scarlet Hoods.
- "IV. Thirty Budge Batchelors in Gowns and Scarlet Hoods.
- "V. Sixty Gentlemen Ushers, in Plush, and some in Velvet Coats, each of them a Chain of Gold about his shoulders and a white staff in his Hand.
- "VI. Thirty other Gentlemen for carrying Banners and Colours, some of them being in Plush Coats, the others in Buff.
- "VII. The Serjeant Trumpet and Thirty-six Trumpets more, whereof sixteen are His Majesty's, the other the Duke of York's ; The Serjeant Trumpet wearing not only a Scarf of the Lord Mayor's Colours, allowed by his Lordship as his Fee, but also another of the Companies' Colours.

- “VIII. The Drum Major to His Majesty, wearing a Scarf of the Companies’ Colours across his shoulders ; Four more of His Majesty’s Drums and Fifes will attend the Service, also Seven other Drums and two Fifes more each of them (except His Majesty’s Servants) habited in buff-coloured Doublets, Black Breeches, and Scarfs about their waists.
- “IX. The two City Marshals, Riding each of them on Horseback with six persons to attend them, with Scarfs and Colours of the Companies.
- “X. The Foot Marshal and six attendants, with like Scarfs and Colours.
- “XI. The Master of Defence with the same Scarf and Colours, having persons of his own Science to attend him.
- “XII. Many poor Men Pensioners accommodated with Gowns and Caps, each of them employed in bearing of Standards and Banners.
- “XIII. Divers other Pensioners in green Gowns, red Sleeves and Caps, each of them carrying a Javelin in the one hand and a target in the other whereon is painted the Coat Armour of their Benefactors.”

Then follows an arrangement of these people in several divisions thus :—

“In this Equipage they will march from Merchant Taylors’ Hall to his Lordship’s House,* beginning with the Pensioners until the Marshal comes and makes a halt at the Gate, till such time the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are mounted.

“Which being done, the whole Body move towards *Guild-Hall*, and at *Guild-Hall* Gate the new Lord Mayor joineth with the old Lord Mayor and His Attendants. So all of them march through *King Street* down to Three-Crane Wharf, and then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and their Attendants, at the West end of the said Wharf take their Barge ; the Court of Assistants, the Livery, and the Gentlemen Ushers take Barge at the East end. The Budge Batchelors and Foyn Batchelors repair to places of refreshment.

“The Lord Mayor, the Merchant Taylors and the several Companies’ Barges hasten to Westminster; and by the way his Lordship will be saluted with several great Guns. His Lordship and the Aldermen, etc., will have a Lane made for them (after their Landing) and pass on to Westminster-Hall where his Lordship is Sworn ; and after having seal’d some Writs, and perform’d some

* Formerly the Abbey of Holy Trinity.

charitable offices, he takes leave of the Lords and Barons of the Exchequer, etc.,* and returns with the several Companies to his and their Barges.

“His Lordship, with the Companies that went with him to Westminster, Land at *Black Fryers* where his Lordship is saluted with three vollies from the honourable Artillery-Company; after which the Artillery-Company lead the way along by the *Fleet Ditch* and so up *Ludgate hill* through Paul’s Churchyard and Cheapside into King Street being followed by several Companies Batchelors and Pensioners, who are ordered and led by the Foot Marshal; in the Rear of whom follows my Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Sheriffs.

“In *King Street* the Artillery-Company make a Lane for his Lordship, etc., to pass to Guildhall (the several Companies doing the same as they come to their respective stands) and when his Lordship is past they close and march to *Guild-hall* yard where they give his Lordship three more vollies and from thence march the next way to the Artillery Ground, the several Companies repairing to their respective Halls, where are provided very splendid and other costly dinners for their Entertainment.”

Luttrell, in describing this return, tells us that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen rode on horseback from Blackfriars to Grocers’ Hall, where they dined.

I cannot give any of the speeches, but several of the loyal songs that were sung at the dinner have come down to us, of which this is one:—

“Live long the great Cæsar, and long may he Reign,
His Throne let the Sword of bright Justice sustain,
And Jehovah protect with his powerful Arm
And guard him secure from all dangers and harm;
Of dazzling Angels, let Legions surround
And let him with Conquests and Glory be Crown’d.

“Let Majesty shine with its sparkling Rays,
On his Sacred Head let the flourishing Bays,
Of Triumph and honour, for ever be green,
And let his proud Foes in Confusion be seen
To fly from his face; let Rome no more dare,
To send forth her Agents, a Prince to Insnares.

* And Luttrell adds, “and invited the Judges to dinner.”

“In whom all the Graces are jointly combin’d ;
Whom God as a Pattern has set to Mankind
But let both the WHIGS and Jesuitical Train,
Be silenc’d in Darkness whilst Cæsar does Reign :
Oh ! let his proud Foes be consum’d in their pride,
Whilst under his scepter we safely abide.”

It will be seen by this song that the Lord Mayors of those times did not mind introducing at their feasts strong political opinions. Notwithstanding, however, his political bias, I think that Lord Mayor Pritchard was much respected, for I find several songs in his praise have come down to us. One before me was printed at the time (1682), of which the following is a copy :—

“THE CONTENTED SUBJECTS

OR

THE CITIZENS’ JOY.

The Tune is “Now, now the Fight’s done.”

“Now, now the time’s come, Noble *Prichard** is chose,
In spite of all people that would him oppose :
The King and His Subjects I hope will agree,
That troubles and dangers, forgotten may be ;
Then now London Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper our King.

“The difference now I hope is Compos’d,
And the confidence that is in our *Mayor* Repos’d ;
I do hope will be answer’d in every degree,
If so, then no subjects more happy than we ;
Then brave London Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“Our Flourishing *Monarch*, whose Fame doth abound,
The *Defender of Faith*, I do hope will be found :
Let the *Turk* and the *Pope*, both of him stand in fear,
Whose *Protestant Principles*, now are so clear ;
That the brave London Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

* The Lord Mayor’s name is spelt “Prichard” throughout this song. In those days they were not particular as to the spelling of names.

“Do but mind how the Heavens upon us do smile,
 And the *Pope's* expectations do clearly beguile :
 To oblige Sinful Men, from their fault to refrain ;
 That in Heaven above, they with Saints may remain ;
Then Protestant Subjects be merry and sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“The Divisions of late, that did strangely increase,
 I hope will conclude in a Flourishing Peace ;
 And *England* be freed from the dangers and fears,
 Which seemed for to threaten her several years :
Then may loyal Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“And who can foretell what God's love will bestow
 On us sinful Men who Inhabit below ?
 Since dayly we find that the Powers above,
 Sends us dayly Symptomes of Mercy and Love :
But let brave Loyal Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“Thrice happy are Subjects, yea, Blessed are they
 Who honour their Prince and God's Laws do obey :
 Upon that Blest Land will Providence flow,
 'Twere happy for *England*, if we could do so ;
Yet London brave Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper our King.

“What Prince ever Reign'd in this Island before,
 More filled with Love, that hath Mercy in Store ?
 That freely forgives many who do offend,
 In hopes to find Mercy himself, in the end :
Then brave London Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“Then lift up your Souls both in Heart and in Voice,
 Bless Heaven so kind, for so happy a Choice ;
 As lately was made, to the People's content
 Of which I do hope they will never repent :
While the brave London Citizens merrily Sing
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“You brave *English* Subjects, that Honour your Prince,
 Take pattern by me and let reason Convince :

That our King doth endeavour this Land to Advance,
 And not keep you like the Poor Serviles in France ;
Then let London Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

“Of Whigs and Tors, we hear shall no more,
 These names of distinctions did trouble some sore :
 But since God and the King, to *England* are friends,
 Know, where strife amongst Subjects so strangely depends,
The Citizens then very faintly will Sing,
But God Bless the Mayor, and Prosper the King.

“Do but mind with what joy this Mayor was receiv’d
 ’Twould make you admire, ’tis by some not believ’d :
 But ’tis certainly sure give but credit to me,
 That goes not by Here-say, but this I did see :
Then London brave Citizens merrily Sing,
God Bless Noble Prichard, and Prosper the King.

During Sir William Pritchard’s mayoralty an event took place of considerable importance, and which excited much interest. I have mentioned that Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois had been elected sheriffs by a large majority, but that Sir John Moore, the then Lord Mayor, at the suggestion of the King, appointed two others. The elected sheriffs applied at the bar of the King’s Bench for a mandamus to be directed to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the City of London calling upon them to swear them in as sheriffs. The Court thought fit to give the Lord Mayor till 30th October to show cause why a mandamus should not be issued ; but on the day arriving, counsel for his Lordship moved that, with regard to that day, the new Lord Mayor entered upon his office, which was a busy day in the City, and therefore desired further time “to show cause ;” thereupon the Court granted till Friday, 3rd of November. On that day arriving, further objections were made, so that the mandamus was not issued until 27th November ; and, for some reason or other, the Lord Mayor and aldermen did

not make return to it until the 23rd of the next January, and the mode in which it was done not satisfying Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, they issued a writ to arrest the Lord Mayor, Sir Dudley North (one of the sheriffs), and several of the aldermen. This was a bold thing to do, and one likely to call forth sympathy for the Lord Mayor, as the election of these men as sheriffs had taken place during the previous mayoralty, and therefore Sir William Pritchard was not personally responsible in the matter.

The Lord Mayor was accordingly arrested, but he afterwards brought an action against Mr. Papillon for false imprisonment; and as it was considered a great indignity to his high office, the damages were laid at £10,000. The action was tried at the Session of *Nisi Prius* for the City of London held at Guildhall, before the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys. The counsel for the plaintiff were the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and Mr. Mundy; for the defendant, Serjeant Maynard, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Ward. As all the circumstances of the arrest were stated by Mr. Mundy in opening the case, and as they are extremely interesting, I will quote his speech verbatim * :—

“May it please your Lordship and you gentlemen of this Jury—Sir William Pritchard, Knight, late Lord Mayor of the City of London is the Plaintiff, and Thomas Papillon, Esq., is the Defendant: And this, gentlemen, is a special action upon the case wherein the Plaintiff does declare—That whereas the 12th of February in the 35th year of this King and before and after for several months then next ensuing he was Mayor of the City of London, being duly elected and sworn into the office of Mayoralty of the said City and according to the custom of the said City, time out of mind, he ought daily to attend the said office in the diligent government of the said City according to the duty of his said office which he was to execute to the honour and dignity belonging thereunto.

* “Trial between Sir William Pritchard and Mr. Thomas Papillon,” printed in 1689.

"That the defendant Thomas Papillon being one of the Commonalty of the said city and under the government of the Plaintiff by virtue of his office aforesaid, not being ignorant of the premises but contriving and falsely and maliciously envying the happy estate of the plaintiff in his said office, as also unjustly to disturb the plaintiff in the execution of his said office. The said 12th day of February in the 35th year aforesaid; the defendant for vexation to the Plaintiff not having any lawful or probable cause of action against the Plaintiff falsely and maliciously did prosecute the King's writ of *Alias Capias* out of the court of King's Bench against the plaintiff by the name of Sir William Pritchard, Knight, directed to the then Coroner of the City of London, by which writ it was commanded the said Coroner to take the plaintiff if found within the said city and safely keep him, so as to have his body before that court at Westminster upon Wednesday next after 15 days of Easter then next following to answer the now defendant in a plea of trespass.

"And that the defendant of his further malice against the plaintiff afterwards and before the return of the writ, to wit, upon the 24th day of April in the 35th year aforesaid at London to wit, in the parish of St. Mildred the Virgin in The Poultry in the ward of Cheap London delivered the said writ of *Alias Capias* to one John Brome gentleman then being Coroner of the said city to be executed; and then and there the Plaintiff then being Mayor of the said city by virtue of that writ maliciously and unjustly did procure to be taken, and arrested and detained in prison under the custody of the said Coroner for the space of six hours to the disgrace and scandal of the plaintiff and his said office as also to the manifest damage prejudice and grievance of the plaintiff. Whereas in truth and in fact the defendant at the time of the taking arresting and detaining of the Plaintiff in prison as aforesaid had not any just or probable cause of action against the plaintiff in the premises whereby the plaintiff says he is injured and which he lays to his damage £10,000. To this the Defendant has pleaded Not Guilty. If we that are of Counsel for the Plaintiff shall prove this matter unto you, Gentlemen, that we have laid in the declaration that has been opened unto you you are to find for the plaintiff, and I hope will repair him in damages for this affront and injury."*

The Attorney-General followed, and sought to show that it was not only an insult to the Lord Mayor and to

* "Account of Trial," page 1.

the City, but that it was also a "design against the Government." His words were:—

"May it please your Lordship and you gentlemen of the Jury, I am (one) of Counsel in this case for the Plaintiff and this action is brought, Gentlemen, to vindicate the honour of the Chair from such affronts as these which in no age till of late days our times of faction and confusion it ever met with. That a person, who is a citizen of London and one of the Commonalty who ought to have paid submission to the Lord Mayor as his chief Magistrate and was bound to do so by his oath as a Freeman, should without cause of suit arrest the Lord Mayor of the City. That there was no probable cause is evident by his not proceeding in the action he had thus brought. But, Gentlemen, we shall show you in the course of our evidence that there lay a further malice in this case and that there was a design in it against the Government. For we shall give you evidence that this design was laid to carry on the great plot against the lives of the King and his brother and for the subversion of the Government. For they contrived it so that they would imprison the Mayor and then, thought they, the Loyal Citizens will interpose to rescue him and then the party should rise to assist the officer he having the countenance of authority and being in execution of the King's wish (especially if it be considered then who was Coroner) and so a public commotion would be made a general meeting, and that would be a fit opportunity in the confusion of the City wanting its chief Governor of doing what they designed. Gentlemen, we shall prove all that is laid in the Declaration and likewise that the end of this business was to have had a commotion for the accomplishing their great Conspiracy as has been opened." *

Then both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General examined the witnesses on their side, after which the three counsel for the defence made rather long speeches, Serjeant Maynard's being the first. They all claimed for the plaintiff that he had what seemed to him a just cause for the action, because he had not been sworn in as sheriff after having been duly elected; and that though afterwards he was convinced of his mistake and discontinued the action, it did not prove in any way

* "Account of Trial," page 2.

that he was prompted by malice, which feeling they utterly disclaimed. Mr. Ward finished his address thus :—

“ Now, gentlemen, in our defence against this Suit of the Plaintiff we shall call our witnesses to prove what we have opened, and our defence will be in these steps. First, to show the inducement to our action against the Plaintiff which will show there was a probable cause. Secondly, give an account of the reverent carriage and behaviour towards the Plaintiff in the prosecution; how with reiterated applications it was only desired that the plaintiff would give an appearance which he was not pleased to do, and that thereupon with great civility the King's writ was executed, as indeed I see no proof to the contrary. For neither the Coroner nor those other people that gave their assistance to him were at all rude in their carriage to my Lord Mayor; but as soon as the arrest was made they were all turned off, and the Coroner staid alone with my Lord and went with him in his Lordship's own coach to the Skinner's Hall, which was the Coroner's house.”

Mr. Ward was then going on to show that Mr. Papillon did not continue the action, because that at a trial that had taken place in reference to a riot at this election, circumstances occurred which convinced him that he had made a mistake. Upon which the Judge interrupted him; and I will give a portion of what followed, because it will perhaps amuse my readers to see a specimen of how Jeffreys often bullied the counsel:—

Lord Ch. Justice.—“ Do not make such excursions *ad captandum populum* with your flourishes, for that is all that is designed by your long harangues. But I must not suffer it, I will have none of your enamel nor your garniture. The business of the court is, and by the grace of God it shall always be my business, and so it should be the Counsel's too, *Servare jus illaesum*. But I see you do not understand the question, and that makes you ramble so much in your discourse.”

Mr. Ward.—“ My Lord, I desire always to do my duty, and do it as well as I can. I know very well and hope to apply it to this case that in a question of right there are forms and methods of law to be pursued, and I would defend my client from this action by proving he did pursue that method; and when he apprehended he had been before mistaken, he desisted from what he had begun——”

L. Ch. Just.—"I tell you I perceive you do not understand the question."

Mr. Ward.—"If your Lordship will give me leave to explain myself, I hope I shall satisfy your Lordship——"

L. Ch. Just.—"Indeed, Mr. Ward, you do not understand the question at all, but launch out into an ocean of discourse that is wholly wide from the mark. I see you do not understand it."

Mr. Ward.—"Will your Lordship please to hear me?"

L. Ch. Just.—"Ay, if you would speak to the purpose, but I cannot sit here all night to hear you make florid speeches about matters that are foreign to the point before us. Come to the question, man, I see you do not understand what you are about."

Mr. Ward.—"My Lord——"

L. Ch. Just.—"Nay, be as angry as you will, Mr. Ward, I do tell you again all you have said is nothing to the purpose, and you do not understand the business."

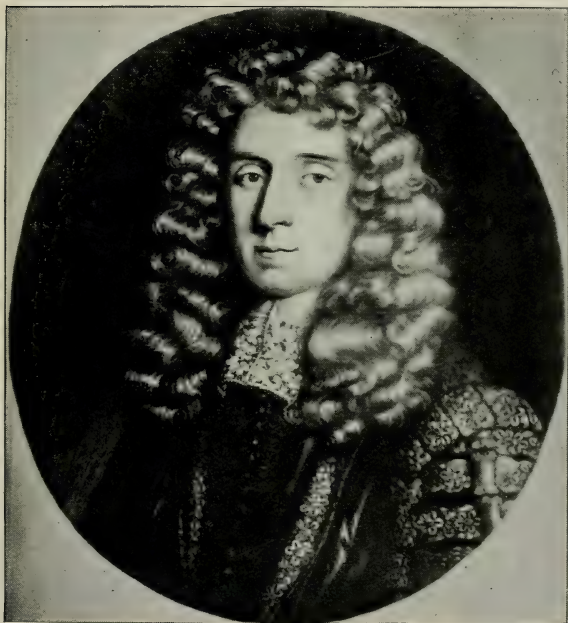
Then there was a little hiss heard in the court which greatly aroused Jeffreys's ire:—

L. Ch. Just.—"Who is that? What in the name of God! I hope we are now passed that time of day that *Humming* and *Hissing* shall be used in Courts of Justice; but I would fain know that fellow that dares to hum or hiss while I sit here; I'll assure him, be he who he will, I'll lay him by the heels and make an example of him. Indeed, I knew the time when causes were to be carried according as the *Mobiles* hissed or hummed. I do not question but they have as good a will to it as now. Come, Mr. Ward, pray let us have none of your fragrances and fine rhetorical flowers to take the people with."

Mr. Ward.—"My Lord, I do no such thing; but if your Lordship would please to hear me, I would explain myself, I hope, to your Lordship's satisfaction and the Gentlemen of the Jury."

L. Ch. Just.—"Hear you? Why, I did not interrupt you, man, till you came to launch out into extravagant things that did not at all concern the cause. Keep close to the question we have come here to try, and I will hear you as long as you will. The single question is whether there was a probable cause for your arresting the Plaintiff or not."

Mr. Ward.—"My Lord, we did apprehend, I say, that we had a probable cause; but when we found our mistake we discontinued our action, paid costs, and have a receipt for them. This is what I was saying——"



LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS.

From a Painting by Kneller.

Again the judge interrupted him, and Mr. Ward sat down.

The summing-up by Judge Jeffreys was certainly a clever piece of reasoning, and would occupy, I should think, quite three columns of *The Times*; and as there are some points in this speech that may interest City men, I will give one or two extracts. Great stress had been laid by the defendant's counsel upon his having been elected as a sheriff and the Lord Mayor's refusal to swear him in. Upon this, Jeffreys, addressing the jury, said:—

“Gentlemen, I myself had the honour to serve the City of London in the places of Common Serjeant and Recorder several years. So long ago, that not above one or two that sit upon the Bench in the Court of Aldermen have been longer conversant in Guild Hall, or know the customs of London in those matters better than I do. It is notoriously known to all that have had any dealings in London or been acquainted with anything there, that till within these six or seven years last passed, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen and the Common Hall used to go a-birding for Sheriffs (you may well know what the phrase means), and perhaps it was not once in ten times that those that were chosen for Sheriffs held; but generally every year there were I know not how many elections upon fining off, or swearing, or some reason or other; so that now and then there was but one Sheriff chosen for a great while together, and now and then never a one from midsummer day till near Michaelmas. And the way was to consider such a one hath most money in his pocket. Oh! then put him up for Sheriff. And then if he went off, then another would be found out. And there was one old Deputy Savage that used to keep a black book that would furnish names for I know not how many elections. And who should be Sheriff so as to divide into parties and poll, was never a question before such time as Mr. Jenks that they speak of came to be put up, and there the dispute began; then the faction began to appear.

“Now if any man offers to tell me I apprehended always it was the Sheriff's right to manage the poll; I would ask him how that came to be a right that never was done before; let them shew me any one instance of a poll for Sheriffs before that time. No, it was notoriously known when the polls began. Persons did not think the Shrevaulty such an office that might be so earnestly coveted and

desired. Polls, indeed, used to be heretofore for the Bridge-Master's places, that are places of profit and advantage; and so for Ale conners and the like, those have been often in your time and mine. Gentlemen, we may well remember them. But this office of Sheriff, people were not heretofore so ambitious of as to poll for it; but the City was glad if they could get any worthy or fit person to accept it."

Having shown that Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois had not any just cause for issuing a *mandamus*, Judge Jeffreys endeavoured to show that malice prompted their taking the proceedings they did, and, continuing to address the jury, said:—

"Gentlemen, you must consider the circumstances that do attend this action of the Defendant, and if so be they are malicious, then you are to find for the Plaintiff. But if they for the Defendant have offered to you any circumstances that can prove or convince you that he had any probability of a cause of action and that not attended with a malicious prosecution of that probable cause, then the issue is with the Defendant.

"Now in point of law I am to tell you, and that you must observe that though I have a probable conjectural cause of action against another man, yet if to obtain my end in that I prosecute him maliciously with a design to ruin him or put an indignity upon him or the character he bears in public, or put a hardship or difficulty upon him (I mean hardship or difficulty in point of time when it is probable the remedy may be had another time), and the same thing done with less injury and less trouble, then an action will lie against me for bringing my action in such a manner, though it be true that I had a conjectural cause against him. . . .

"Now, then, for this case before you, Gentlemen. I desire if possible to be satisfied in one thing or two. My Lord Mayor of London, it is true, is not, nor is any person whatsoever, be he ever so great a quality, exempt from the law. If he owe any man any thing he is bound to answer it to him as much as any the meanest citizen of London or poorest subject the King has. But is he to be arrested just at such a time, because he is the Chief Governor of the City, and the action will be found greater? And the Court of Aldermen, are they to be arrested because they are ministers and necessary subservient assistants to him in his government in such a time as this was, when the Government both in the City and elsewhere

was surrounded with difficulties and in great danger on all sides? What occasion was there for such haste and speed in this action to be done just then? Would Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois have starved if this action had been suspended for a while? Sir William Pritchard would have been as answerable to this or any man's action when the year of his office had been out. But it carrieth vengeance and malice in the very face of it; it speaks that they would do it because he was then Lord Mayor, the chief person in the city for the time; and thereby they would affront the Government in arresting and imprisoning the King's Lieutenant, in one of the highest places both of trust and honour. And this would be sure to make a great noise, and the triumph of the action would make their party then to be the uppermost, having got the chief Governor of the City in their clutches."

Then the Chief Justice goes on to mark as a further proof of malice that men of very low repute were employed in this work of arresting the Lord Mayor, and thereby a further insult was offered to himself and his office. Then charging the jury in reference to the amount of damages, Jeffreys said:—

"Gentlemen, this is the matter as to the business concerning the damages, that if you find for the Plaintiff, it is left to your judgment to consider of and give what you shall think fit upon such an occasion. It is very true it is not so easy a matter to ascertain particular damages in such a case, nor is it in an ordinary way so easy to prove, that because Sir William Pritchard was in prison but five or six hours, there he could suffer so much damage as comes to ten thousand pounds.

"As in the case of a person of great quality and honour, it is not easy to prove this particular damage; nor in the case of any of you who are wealthy, able, sufficient citizens, to say you are bankrupt when we all know it is impossible to be true, and so no particular damage doth ensue that can be proved; yet, however, if the thing for which the action is brought were designed with malice, though the ill design be not effected, that is no thanks to the party, nor is it to weigh with you, but the malicious design must govern you.

"The Government of the City, the honour of your chief magistrate, and, indeed, the honour of the King, whose substitute he was, is concerned, and that puts a weight upon your inquiry into the

damages of this case. You are to consider and you are to give damages to the Plaintiff not as Sir William Pritchard, but as Lord Mayor. And your severity in this case will deter all people from entering into Clans and Cabals to make disturbances and affront the Government."

The jury withdrew to consider their verdict, and after half an hour's stay, returned, and found for the plaintiff, and assessed damages to ten thousand pounds, and costs to four marks. On hearing their verdict, the Lord Chief Justice said :—

"Gentlemen, you seem to be persons that have some sense upon you and consideration for the Government, and I think have taken a good verdict and to be greatly commended for it." *

I have not in these extracts given the virulent language used by Jeffreys, mixed with profane oaths, for I have felt that they would sully my pages. The likeness I give of him on page 389, when he was Lord Chancellor, is by Kneller, the celebrated painter of that time, but it seems too flattering a portrait. Mr. Papillon knew that it would be useless to appeal against the decision, but determined, though a wealthy man, not to pay the money; also he had some fears of being arrested for treason, and therefore left the country and went to live at Utrecht. During his exile he kept up communication with his friends in England. His letters, of which I have seen the copies of several, breathe a truly Christian spirit. Meanwhile Sir William Pritchard was most kind to his family, which Mr. Papillon greatly appreciated; indeed, it seems that there was no ill-feeling on Sir William's side, but he brought the action in vindication of the honour of the distinguished office of Lord Mayor. Therefore Sir William does not seem ever to have sued Mr. Papillon or to have

* "Trial between Sir W. Pritchard and T. Papillon."

put an execution into his house or estate for the fine, but, on the contrary, was desirous of getting the judgment reversed, as will be seen by the following quotations from two or three letters. On May 4th, 1688, Captain Johnson wrote to the Rev. Mr. Showers :—

“I hope it will not be long before we see Madam and Mr. Papillon here, to whom pray present my humble service. I doubt not but he has an account of Sir William Pritchard being conscious of the hard measure that was done to him and is desirous to let him know that he doth freely remit the debt and is willing to give him an assurance that no man shall ever demand a penny of him. But for the Judgment he is commanded by the King that it may not be vacated without his consent which is believed may be easily obtained upon a petition to His Majesty.” *

Mr. Papillon’s son-in-law, Mr. Samuel Rawstorn, wrote to him on 23rd July, 1688, thus :—

“Honoured Sir,

“On Saturday last Sir William Pritchard sent to speak with me ; he told me that he was just now come from waiting on the King and that the latter had given him leave to discharge the judgment which he was ready to ; but that he had never had one line from you to desire it the which he expected. . . .

“It is thought convenient if you write to Sir William as soon as you can. So with my wife’s and sister’s duty to yourself and dear mother I remain, etc.

Upon this Mr. Papillon wrote the following letter to Sir William :—

“Right Worshipful Sir William Pritchard.

“Honoured Sir,

“Though I am not conscious to have deserved on any account what both I and mine have, and still suffer under the burden of the judgment which you did obtain and continue in force against me, yet I shall not now go about to justify myself or blame you : but on the contrary return thanks for the kindness and civilities you have expressed to my wife and Mr. and Mrs. Cooke in their

* “Memoirs of Thomas Papillon,” page 245.

† Idem, page 246.

applications to you on my behalf for the discharging and releasing me from the same ; as also to Captain Johnson and others that have occasionally discoursed with you of that affair : and having received by the last post intimation by my son Rawstorn that you are now more freely inclined to grant my request therein than formerly ; but expected I should under my own hand make it my desire to you, this is therefore to intreat that you will vacate the same Judgment and release and discharge me therefrom ; which I shall acknowledge and own as a special favour and always remain

“Honoured Sir, Your most humble Servant

“THOMAS PAPILLON.” *

A formal and legal discharge of the judgment was sent to Mr. Papillon, who soon afterwards returned to England, and was elected Member of Parliament for Dover in January, 1689, for which borough he had sat from 1673 until the dissolution in 1681. He was a warm supporter of William, Prince of Orange, who when King sent for him in November, 1689, and desired him to take office as First Commissioner for Victualling the Navy. He begged to be excused on account of the neglected condition of the business ; but the King would take no refusal, and eventually raised his salary from £400 to £1,000 a year, equal to some £2,000 or £3,000 now.

Mr. Papillon, being a conscientious and religious man, immediately set to work to make a searching inquiry into the negligence and corruption of the Navy Board and the frauds of the contractors, for he well knew that sailors could not fight on empty or ill-fed stomachs. One case of gross negligence was that, by some accident, the salt with which the meat furnished to the fleet had been cured had got mixed with galls used for making ink, which must have imparted a black colour and a disagreeable taste to the meat, and yet this vile stuff was sent on board by the contractors to feed the sailors. Papillon would not stand such proceedings, and several persons were arrested.

* “Memoirs of Thomas Papillon,” page 246.

At the same general election when Papillon was returned for Dover Sir William Pritchard was returned for the City of London. Thus these two men who had had such trying and painful relations between them met again continually in the House of Commons. Doubtless strange sensations sometimes occupied the minds of each. In March, Sir William was chosen as one of the new Commission for the Lieutenancy of the City of London. It will be remembered that all the trouble that happened between Sir William and Mr. Papillon arose from Sir William's predecessor, Sir John Moore, having at the Bridge House feast chosen a sheriff by drinking to him.* On 18th June, 1691, it was proposed in Common Council that this custom should be abolished, and the motion was carried by 35 ayes to 33 noes. Before, however, the motion was drawn up, the Noes, without thinking, withdrew from the Chamber, and there not being enough left to make a Common Council, the custom continued in force, and the Lord Mayor went to the Bridge House feast and drank to Sir William Ashurst as a recommendatory sheriff for the ensuing year, if approved of by the Common Hall, on 24th June.

On 17th December, 1692, Luttrell has this note: "This morning Sir William Pritchard Alderman of the City of London died."† This, though so pointedly stated by Luttrell, was a mistake, and probably Sir William, like Lord Brougham, in after years had the rare opportunity of reading his own obituary.

On the 20th Luttrell writes: "Sir William Pritchard is not yet dead." From the word "yet" I should suppose that the Alderman had had a very severe illness, at one stage of which he was thought to be dead. He recovered, however, and took an active part in City matters until 20th

* See page 376. † "Historical Relations," vol. ii., page 642.

February, 1705, when he died in what had been the Abbey of my church, which, as I said, had been purchased by him for a city residence, and where, when Lord Mayor, he gave many of his civic entertainments. He had a very nice suburban residence at Highgate, to which his body was removed, and remained there until the last day of February, when it was taken for interment to Great Lingford, Bucks, of which he held the Manor.

The Alderman left no children. He had had only one son, who died unmarried nine years before him, viz. 16th March, 1695. His estates therefore passed into another branch of the family. Sir William was a great benefactor to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which he was President. He also held the office of Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, in whose hall there is a most excellent life-sized portrait of him. His wife, Sarah, Lady Pritchard, was the daughter of Francis Cook, Esquire, of Kingsthorpe, in the county of Northampton, and she left £100 for the poor of my parish, the interest to be spent in giving the widows five shillings with some coals and bread at Christmas-time. This, after being carefully distributed for two hundred years, has been ruthlessly seized by the Charity Commissioners, of which I will say more a little later on.

XIII.

Sir Isaac Newton at the Mint.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

From a Painting by Kneller.

III.

Sir Isaac Newton at the Mint.

HANGING up in the vestry of our church is an old engraving bearing the date 1730, which is a likeness of Sir Isaac Newton, who had died three years previously, in 1727; a copy of which appears on page 427. I need not therefore describe it, as it will tell its own story. There is a tradition that the illustrious philosopher attended the church and lived in Haydon Square, close by, during a part of the time that he was Master of the Mint. That he attended the church I think most probable, as his likeness is there, but I cannot find any record of his having resided in Haydon Square.

As a number of biographies have been published of this truly eminent man, of which that written by Sir David Brewster is the fullest, I shall confine myself principally to Sir Isaac's connexion with the Mint and the good he did whilst there, in reference to the debased and clipt coinage, which deeply interesting matters have been scarcely touched upon by historians, Macaulay excepted. In order, however, that my readers may fully understand how much the country was indebted to Newton in this matter, it will be necessary for me to give some account of the dreadful condition the coinage had fallen into, the facts relating to which are derived from a number of sources, but chiefly from a very valuable manuscript in the British Museum, written by Hopton Haynes, Esq., Assay Master of His Majesty's Mint in 1700, and at the

time he was the colleague of Sir Isaac Newton. He calls the work

“BRIEF MEMOIRS relating to the silver and gold coins of England with an account of the corruption of the hammered moneys and of the reform by the late ‘Grand Coinage’ at the Tower and the five Country Mints in the years 1696, 1697, 1698 and 1699.” *

This is a long title, but the writer fully carries out what he has there promised by the abundant information he has afforded, the whole of which is extremely interesting. The MS. is in excellent preservation, and is very clearly written; it seems therefore a little singular that it has not been printed, or more largely quoted from by historians. It commences with an account of the corruption of the coinage as far back as the time of Athelstan, when licences were given to certain men in every considerable town to coin money with dies received from the Royal Treasury, some of whom seem to have abused their privilege by debasing the coinage and thereby making large profits, which led to a law being passed in the year 928 to punish any coiner who debased the money, with the loss of his right hand, and the hand to be nailed to the door of his house.

This practice of giving private individuals the privilege of coining money was, however, not discontinued, for I find from Lingard that William the Conqueror and Rufus adopted it, and that during their reigns these persons, by debasing the quality and diminishing the weight of the silver pennies, amassed considerable wealth, and at the same time screened themselves from punishment by frequent and valuable presents to the monarch. When Henry I., however, ascended the throne, he undertook in a charter which he granted, to redress this grievance, and

* Haynes's “Brief Memoirs,” Lansdowne MSS., 801.

endeavoured to do so by increasing the severity of the law, adding to the excision of the hand the loss of both eyes, as well as another cruel mutilation. The inhabitants of boroughs and the principal merchants of the time were sworn to watch over the purity of the coin and to prosecute delinquents; and the same penalty was denounced against those who fabricated silver pennies* of inferior value. Still the evil continued to increase, till in the twenty-fifth year of his reign (1125) it had become so universal that hardly one penny in twelve was taken in the market. The royal indignation now fell on the coiners. By a general precept they were all summoned to appear at the Court of Exchequer in Winchester. Each in rotation was examined before the Bishop of Salisbury (Joscelyn de Bailul), the Lord Treasurer, who, if he judged him guilty, ordered him to be taken to a neighbouring apartment, where he immediately suffered the punishment prescribed by law. Out of fifty who obeyed the summons only four escaped. This severity it was hoped would intimidate the future fabricators of debased money.

Lingard also tells us that the pennies had hitherto borne on the reverse the impression of a cross which divided them into halves and quarters, and for convenience they were occasionally cut according to the lines of this cross into half-pennies and farthings (fourthings). As many persons refused to take even good silver after the penny had been cut, the King ordered that for the future both half-pennies and farthings should be coined circular like the pennies, and be, in that form, a legal tender which no one might refuse with impunity.† But the profits from this pernicious artifice were so considerable, that death itself

* The silver penny weighed $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains at first, but was reduced in Queen Elizabeth's reign $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

† Lingard's "History of England," vol. ii., page 37.

did not deter men from the undertaking. Consequently Henry II. found the kingdom so extremely pestered with counterfeit money, that he put a stop to all money then current, and recoinéd it, which was a great advantage to the public, though it proved a loss to some private individuals. The Lord Treasurer of this reign is said to have appointed the method of trying money by assay. It is thought that the "Trial of the Pyx," to ascertain the real value of the coins, was also then first instituted. These reforms only lasted for a time; for the Jews and Italians, who in that age best understood trade and the use of money, so clipped and debased the coin, that Henry III., on his accession to the throne, was obliged to stop the currency by proclamation, to call in all the money in circulation and recoin it, the people being directed to bring their money to the King's Exchange, upon which transaction they were great losers, for they received back in new money only two-thirds the nominal value, viz. 20s. for 30s.

In the next reign, that of Edward I., a new evil sprang up; the French counterfeited our coins and inundated the nation with base money. Upon the King calling this in, the new money that he made was soon transported to France, and further base coins were substituted in its place. The Jews at this time were so notoriously guilty of clipping, that 297 of them were executed in the City of London for this crime. In the reign of Henry V. clipping, sweating, or filing of the coinage was by Act of Parliament declared to be an act of treason, and those detected were put to the cruel death inflicted upon traitors. A singular law was revived in Henry VII.'s reign, which not only forbade the exportation of money, plate, and jewels, but no person was allowed to carry out of England, even into Ireland, more than the value of six shillings and eightpence, nor

to bring thence more plate than the value of three and fourpence. We should find this law very difficult to observe if it were in force now.

But I must pass on to the reign of Henry VIII., when more mischief was done to the public than had been done by the clipping, debasing, and counterfeiting by private hands in all the former reigns. For Henry, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, gave orders for a prodigious debasement of the silver money, in order that he might reap a large profit for himself. For this crime, and such it clearly was, he had no excuse, for he had not only had a very large fortune left him by his father, but also he had greatly enriched himself on the dissolution of the monasteries, whose plate and movables he had confiscated, and whose lands he had sold.

The standard for silver, of 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver to 11 dwt. of alloy, established in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Edward I., had now continued for about 300 years without any alteration. But Henry began the debasement by mixing with the silver one-sixth part of copper alloy, and two years afterwards the money was coined out of a mass that was one-half silver and the other half copper. Not content with this act of dishonesty, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign he ordered that two-thirds of the metal coined was to be copper and only one-third silver. The adoption of this wicked and intolerable corruption, we are told, was suggested to the King by a man named Parson Brooke, and it threw all the mercantile affairs of the kingdom into dire confusion; prices of commodities went up to a very high figure, for people would not consent to part with their goods for a bit of metal worth only one-third of its nominal value.

Of all the crimes committed by Henry, this, I think, was among the most injurious. Men had had their hands

chopped off, their eyes put out, their cheeks branded, and hundreds had been hanged, drawn, and quartered, for debasing the coinage, whether little or much, and now the King openly commits the same crime and goes on from bad to worse, until eight ounces of alloy were mixed with four ounces of silver. The country had doubtless on many occasions felt Henry to be a cruel monster, but now they must have looked upon him with the utmost contempt, deserving the name of a gigantic and miserable swindler, who, not content with the wholesale plundering of his wealthy subjects, sought to rob the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest.

This debased coinage was continued into the early part of Edward VI.'s reign; indeed, the first coinage was ordered to be of the same low standard, viz. 4 oz. of silver and 8 oz. of alloy. The King being then only nine years old, this proceeding must of course have been the act of the Protector and council. Soon after this, however, there was an improvement in the standard, and testoons, as shillings were sometimes called, were ordered to be struck with 6 oz. of silver and 6 oz. of alloy, and of the weight of eighty grains. A little later on it was determined to issue a coinage of the proper standard, and in 1551 commenced the circulation of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, and threepences, which contained 11 oz. 1 dwt. of silver with 19 dwt. of alloy, but the pennies, halfpennies, and farthings were still as debased as before, viz. 4 oz. of silver to 8 oz. of alloy. Some of the pennies, however, issued in 1552 were of fine silver.*

When Mary ascended the throne, she announced her intention to restore the coins to their original standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine silver to 18 dwt. of alloy, instead of which she actually made it less fine than she found it, for

* Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England," page 295.

she added one ounce of alloy to the eleven ounces of silver. On Elizabeth's coming to the throne, she seriously set to work to complete the reformation in the standard of the coinage which had been commenced by Edward VI., and, in her third year, restored the coinage to its original fineness of 11 oz. 2 dwt. of silver with 18 dwt. of alloy.* Though wily tempters during her reign suggested the debasement of the coinage as an easy means of increasing the funds in the Royal Exchequer, she would not listen to any proposition of the kind, and, therefore, during all her reign, this justice was done the people, which will always remain a jewel in her crown. The further honour also is attached to her, that this proportion of silver and alloy continued through all succeeding reigns, and is in use at the present time, the alloy used being only such as is necessary to give hardness to the soft silver.

Up to the reign of Charles II., the coin had been struck by a process as old as the thirteenth century, and the instruments which were then introduced into our mint continued to be employed with little alteration. The metal was divided with shears, and afterwards shaped and stamped by the hammer. In these operations much was left to the hands and eyes of the workmen. It necessarily happened that some pieces contained a little more and some a little less than just the right quantity of silver; few pieces were exactly round, and the rims were not marked. It was therefore one of the easiest things possible to clip the coin, and it was a most profitable kind of fraud. In the reign of Elizabeth it was found necessary to enact that the clipper should be liable to the penalties of high treason, as the coiner had long been. The practice, however, of paring money down was far too lucrative to be checked, so that

* Hawkins's "Silver Coins," etc., page 298.

it went on until nearly all the coinage was again in this most unsatisfactory condition.

Soon after the Restoration, a great improvement in the mode of shaping and striking the coin was suggested. A mill, which to a great extent superseded the human hand, was set up in the Tower of London. This mill was worked by horses, but it would doubtless be considered by modern engineers as a rude and feeble machine. The pieces which it produced were, however, amongst the best in Europe. It was not easy to counterfeit them; and as their shape was exactly circular and their edges were inscribed with a legend, clipping was not to be apprehended, for the loss of part of the legend would be at once seen, and the piece rejected by the seller of any goods. Unfortunately, the hammered coins and those made by a mill were current together, and were received without distinction in public and private payments.

The financiers of that day expected that the new money, which was excellent, would displace the old money, which was much impaired. In this, however, they found themselves greatly disappointed; for the good milled crown was thrown into the crucible and melted into silver ingots, and carried across the Channel, where it was of much more value than the clipped crown. Thus the inferior pieces remained in the market, whilst the superior ones were conspicuous by their absence. The horse in the Tower still paced his rounds; fresh waggon-loads of choice money still came forth from the mill, but it vanished as fast as it was coined. Macaulay says:—

“Great masses were melted down, great masses exported, great masses hoarded, but scarcely one new piece was to be found in the till of a shop or in the leathern bag which the farmer carried home after the cattle fair.”

And Haynes says that in the receipts and payments of

the Exchequer, the milled money did not exceed ten shillings in a hundred pounds ; and a writer of that age mentions the case of a merchant, who in a sum of thirty-five pounds received by him found that there was only a single half-crown in milled silver.

Meanwhile the shears of the clippers were constantly at work. The coiners, too, multiplied and prospered ; for the worse the current money became, the more easily it was imitated. Thus things went on, reign after reign, until that of William III., when they became intolerable. It was to no purpose that the laws against coining and clipping were rigorously executed. At every session at the Old Bailey terrible examples were made. Hurdles with four, five, or six wretches upon them were dragged up Holborn Hill. One morning, seven men were hanged and a woman burned ; but all to no purpose. The gains were so great that dishonest-minded men ran the risk, and some made large fortunes. Macaulay speaks of one man who offered six thousand pounds for a pardon, which was, of course, refused, but the fame of his riches did much to counteract the effect of the spectacle of his death. The evil proceeded with continued frequency, until, in 1695, it could hardly be said that the country possessed any measure of the value of commodities. It was a mere chance whether what was called a shilling was really tenpence, sixpence, or a groat.

Lowndes, in his " Essay for the Amendment of Coin " (1695), mentions some experiments that were made by the officers of the Exchequer by weighing £57,200 or hammered silver money which had been recently paid in. The weight ought to have been above 220,000 oz., but it proved to be under 114,000 oz. : here was a loss of 106,000 oz. Then three eminent London goldsmiths were invited to send £100 each in current silver to be tried by the balance. These £300 ought to have weighed

about 1,200 oz., whereas the actual weight turned out to be only 624 oz.

Macaulay tells the story of an honest Quaker, who lived in a northern district where clipped money had only begun to find its way, and who recorded in some memoranda still extant the amazement with which, when he travelled southward, shopkeepers and innkeepers stared at the broad and heavy half-crowns with which he paid his way. They asked whence he came and where such money was to be found. The guinea which he purchased at £1 2s. at Lancaster bore a different value at every stage of his journey. When he reached London it was worth £1 10s., and would, indeed, have been worth more had not the Government fixed that rate as the highest at which gold should be received in payment of taxes.*

“It may be doubted,” Macaulay says, “whether all the misery that had been inflicted on the nation for a quarter of a century by bad kings, bad ministers, bad Parliament, and bad judges, was equal to the misery caused in a single year by bad crowns and bad shillings. The misgovernment of Charles and James, gross as it had been, had not prevented the common business of life from going steadily and prosperously on. While the honour and independence of the State were sold to a Foreign power, while chartered rights were invaded, while fundamental laws were violated, hundreds of thousands of quiet, honest, and industrious families laboured and traded, ate their meals and laid down to rest, in comfort and security. Whether Whigs or Tories, Protestants or Jesuits were uppermost, the grazier drove his beasts to market; the grocer weighed over his currants; the draper measured out his broadcloth; the hum of buyers and sellers was as loud as ever in the towns; the harvest home was celebrated as joyously as ever in the hamlets; the cream overflowed the pails of Cheshire; the apple juice foamed in the presses of Herefordshire; the piles of crockery glowed in the furnaces of the Trent; and the barrows of coal rolled fast along the timber railways of the Tyne.

“But when the great instrument of exchange became thoroughly

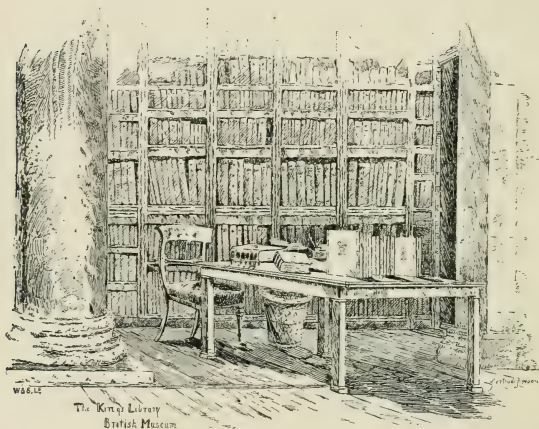
* Macaulay says that the Memoirs of this Lancashire Quaker were printed in the *Manchester Guardian* a few years before he wrote his History.

deranged, all trade and all industries were smitten as with a palsy. The evil was felt daily and hourly in every place and by almost every class, in the dairy and on the threshing floor, by the anvil and by the loom, on the billows of the ocean and in the depths of the mine. Nothing could be purchased without a dispute. Over every counter there was wrangling from morning to night. The workman and his employer had a quarrel as regularly as Saturday came round. On a fair day or a market day the clamours, the reproaches, the taunts, the curses were incessant: and it was well if no booth were overturned and no head broken. No merchant would contract to deliver goods without making some stipulation about the quality of the coin in which he was to be paid. Even men of business were often bewildered by the confusion into which all pecuniary transactions were thrown. The simple and the careless were pillaged without mercy by extortioners, whose demands grew even more rapidly than the money shrank. The price of the necessities of life rose fast. The labourer found that the bit of metal which, when he received it, was called a shilling would hardly, when he wanted to purchase a pot of beer or a loaf of rye bread, go as far as sixpence. When artisans of more than usual intelligence were collected in great numbers as in the dockyards at Chatham, they were able to make their complaints heard and to obtain redress. But the ignorant and helpless peasant was cruelly ground between one class which would give money only by toll and another which would take it only by weight."

I have quoted from Macaulay this description of the condition of things in full, with only a few verbal alterations, because I find it is all perfectly consistent with the authorities, manuscript and otherwise, which we possess in our great national library. I can almost picture him sitting at the desk which I am now occupying, with some of the very books before him, including Haynes's wonderful manuscript. As, however, the present reading-room was not then built, such a thing could not have been, but the great historian occupied a corner in the King's Library, of which I give a sketch from *The English Illustrated Magazine*, vol. x., 1892-3.

New penal laws of great severity were passed, but all

to no effect, and men were almost in despair. Happily for England, there were among her rulers some who clearly perceived that it was not by halters and branding irons that her decaying industry and commerce could be restored to health. Two of these were Charles Montague and John Somers. Montague was the fourth son of George Montague, Esq., and grandson of the first Earl of



MACAULAY'S CORNER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Manchester. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1679, where Newton was Lucasian Professor, and with whom he became acquainted. After leaving college he wrote some pieces of poetry, and was, in 1685, introduced by the Earl of Dorset to the wits of London. He signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, and after William's coronation, in 1689, Dorset introduced him to the King, who at once took considerable notice of him and gave orders that a pension of £500 per annum should be

paid him out of the privy purse till an opportunity should occur of giving him an appointment.

"In 1687 when Newton was occupied with the completion of his *Principia*, he was in correspondence with Montague, whom he characterizes as his intimate friend, and notwithstanding the contrariety of their pursuits and the great difference of their age, the young statesman cherished for the philosopher all the veneration of a disciple, and his affection for him gathered new strength as he rose to the highest offices and honours of the state."*

Mr. Montague sat in Parliament at the same time with Newton, where he displayed so much ability as a public speaker that he was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury and soon afterwards a Privy Councillor. In 1694, he was elevated to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, when he turned all his attention to the restoration of the coinage to its original value; of which more presently. On 30th November, 1695, he was elected President of the Royal Society. In 1698 he was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury, and one of the Lords Justices of England during the absence of the King in Holland; and in 1700 he was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Halifax, in the county of York, in compliance with the recommendation of the House of Commons.† It was after the accession of George I. that he was created Earl of Halifax.

John Somers was born at Worcester, probably in 1650, but it is somewhat uncertain, and was brought up to follow the higher grade of the legal profession, in which he acquired so great a reputation as an advocate, that he was engaged in the important case of the trial of the Seven Bishops in the reign of James II. His speech upon that occasion will ever be regarded as one of the

* Brewster's "Life of Sir Isaac Newton," vol. ii., page 189.

† Burke's "Extinct Peerages" and Brewster's "Life of Newton."

boldest, most impressive, and constitutional ever delivered at the bar. After the revolution Mr. Somers was appointed successively, in 1689, Solicitor-General and, in 1692, Attorney-General, when he received the usual honour of knighthood. In 1693 he became Lord Keeper, and in 1697 was constituted Lord Chancellor of England and elevated to the peerage as Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, in the county of Worcester.* Of this great and learned man Walpole, in his "*Catalogue of Noble Authors*," observes:—

"That Lord Somers was one of those divine men who like a chapel in a Palace remain unprophaned while all the rest is tyranny, corruption and folly: and that all the traditional accounts of him, the historians of the last age, and its best authors, represent him as the most incorrupt lawyer and a truly honest statesman; a master orator; a genius of the finest taste; and as patriot of the noblest and most extensive views; as a man who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for posterity; at once the model of Addison and touchstone of Swift."

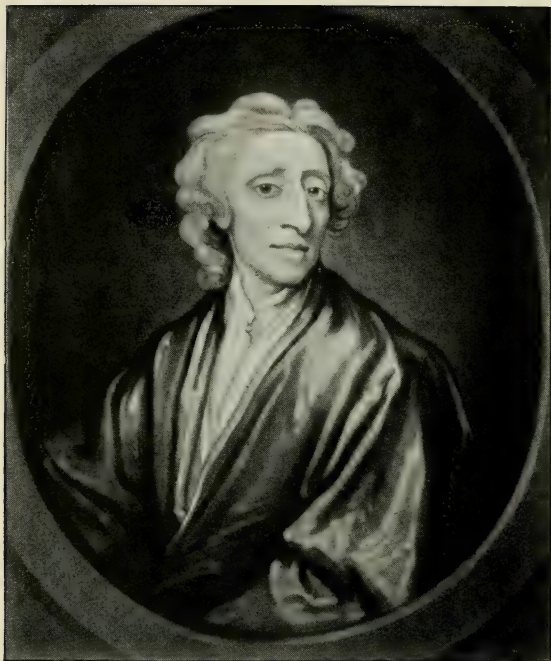
Macaulay also considered him, in some respects, the greatest man of the age in which he lived:—

"He was," says that brilliant historian, "equally eminent as a jurist and as a politician, as an orator and as a writer. His speeches have perished, but his State Papers remain, which are models of terse, luminous and dignified eloquence. In truth he united all the qualities of a great judge, viz. an intellect comprehensive, quick and acute, combined with diligence, integrity, patience, suavity. In council the calm wisdom which he possessed in a measure rarely found among men of parts so quick, and of opinions so decided as his, acquired for him the authority of an oracle. He was at once a munificent and a severely judicious patron of genius and learning. Locke owed opulence to Somers. By Somers Addison was drawn forth from a cell in a college. In distant countries the name of Somers was mentioned with respect and gratitude by great scholars and poets who had never seen his face."

* Burke's "Extinct Peerages."

These, then, were the two great men who helped to get the country out of the terrible troubles into which the debased and clipped money had plunged it. But they were not alone; two of the greatest philosophers of that day aided them with their suggestions, and these, I need not say, were Newton and Locke. I have before me at the present time two of the essays written by Locke on the subject, which are in excellent preservation. One is in the form of a letter to a Member of Parliament, printed in 1692, entitled, "*Some Consideration of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money.*" The other is an essay, printed in 1695, entitled, "*Further Considerations Concerning the Raising of the Value of Money.*" This was an answer to the arguments of Mr. William Lowndes, who was then Secretary of the Treasury and Member of Parliament for Seaford, a most industrious and excellent man, but very little versed in the higher parts of political economy.

Lowndes proposed that in the new shilling the metal it contained should be only worth ninepence, fancying thereby a large profit would be gained for Government purposes. Locke exposed the folly of this proceeding, and stated that a piece of metal with the King's head upon it was governed by the same laws which govern a piece of metal fashioned into a spoon or a buckle, and that it was no more in the power of the Parliament to make the kingdom richer by calling fifteen shillings a pound, than to make the kingdom larger by calling a furlong a mile. Macaulay says that Lowndes seriously believed, incredible as it may seem, that if the ounce of silver were divided into seven shillings instead of five, foreign nations would sell us their wines and their silks for a smaller number of ounces; yet he adds that the Secretary had a considerable following, composed partly of dull men who



JOHN LOCKE.

From a Painting by Kneller.

really believed what he told them, and partly of shrewd men who would have been only too glad to be authorised by law to pay a hundred pounds with eighty. Had his arguments prevailed, the evils of a vast confiscation would have been added to those which then afflicted the nation. Public credit would have been destroyed, and there would have been much risk of a general mutiny of the fleet.

Happily Locke's essay completely refuted Lowndes's theories in the eyes of Somers, who was so delighted with it as to desire that it might be printed, and it speedily became the text-book of all the most enlightened politicians in the kingdom. In reference to Locke's tracts upon this subject, Macaulay says:—

“It may be doubted whether in any of his writings, even in those ingenious and deeply meditated chapters on language, which form, perhaps, the most valuable part of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, the force of his mind appears more conspicuously.”

The next great points of interest connected with the matter are the decisions of Parliament, of which Haynes, in his most interesting manuscript, gives a full account. Montague, after defeating first those who were for letting things remain unaltered till the peace, and then those who were for the little shilling, as Lowndes's proposition was called, carried a number of resolutions, which may be summed up thus:—

That all the money in the kingdom should be recoined according to the old standard of both weight and fineness, which were finally fixed, as I have shown, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. That all the new pieces should be milled, which would effectually prevent clipping. That the loss upon the debased or clipped money should be borne by the public, and not by individuals. That a time should be fixed after which no clipped money should pass except in payment of taxes. That a later time should be

fixed after which no clipped money should pass at all, either for public or private payments. Had all the silver money been called in in one day, as had sometimes been done in former reigns, the people would have been altogether deprived of the means of exchange, and all business must have ceased, and neither the markets nor the fairs could have been carried on, for it would necessarily have taken some time before anything like a sufficiency of perfect coins could have been issued from the Mint. Here, then, came in the great wisdom of Montague and Somers, and their able advisers; and as I do not think that anyone has given the dates fixed upon as mentioned in Haynes's MS., I will do so that they may be in print as a memento of the tact and skill of those great men:—

1. From 1st January, 1696,* no clipped crowns or half-crowns should pass in any payment except only to the Receivers and Collectors of Taxes or Loans, and payments into the Exchequer.

2. From the 3rd February, 1696, no clipped crowns or half-crowns should pass in any payment whatsoever in London or forty miles distance.

3. From the 22nd February, 1696, no clipped crowns or half-crowns should be current in any payment whatsoever within the kingdom, etc.

4. From the 13th February, 1696, no shillings clipped within the ring shall pass in any payment except only to the King's Receivers and Collectors, or in Loans and payments into the Exchequer.

5. From the 2nd March, 1696, no such shillings should pass in any payment whatsoever.

6. From the 2nd March, 1696, no other species of money clipped within the ring should pass in any payment except only to the Receivers or Collectors, or in Loans and payments into the Exchequer.

7. From the 2nd April, 1696, no such clipped money should pass in any payment whatsoever.

From these arrangements it will be seen that the larger pieces of money were called in first, and that only by

* In the MS. this is written 1695, because in the "Old Style" it would be 1695 until 25th March.

degrees, as taxes were allowed to be paid with them after they had been forbidden as a currency. The same was done by all the rest, the clipped sixpences and small coin being made an unlawful tender last of all. This being all arranged, the great difficulty that had to be coped with, was the recoinage the old money into new sufficiently fast enough to prevent disastrous results arising from a great scarcity of coin. What also increased this difficulty was that the Officials of the Mint and the machinery employed there were not at all equal to the exigencies of this "Great Coinage," as it was called. Indeed, the Wardens of the Mint had for three or four succeeding reigns been courtiers, upon whom the kings had conferred the office, but who had so neglected their duties that they seldom went to the Mint at all, preferring the pleasures and engagements of Court life to the superintendence of the coinage. Montague saw the difficulties and determined to do his best to remedy them. The then Warden of the Mint was made a Commissioner of Customs, and the following letter was written to Newton:—

"19th March, 1695.*

"Sir,

"I am very glad that at last I can give you a good proof of my friendship and the esteem the King has of your merits. Mr. Overton the Warden of the Mint is made one of the Commissioners of the customs and the King has promised me to make Mr. Newton Warden of the Mint. The office is the most proper for you. 'Tis the chief officer in the Mint. 'Tis worth five or six hundred pounds per annum, and has not too much business to require more attendance than you may spare. I desire you will come up as soon as you can and I will take care of your warrant in the meantime. Pray give my humble services to John Lawton.† I am sorry I have not

* This date should have been 1695.

† Lawton, or Laughton, was a great personal friend of Newton and Montague. He was afterwards made Librarian and Chaplain of Trinity College, and subsequently became Canon of Worcester and Lichfield, and gave to the Library of Trinity a valuable collection of books.



CHARLES MONTAGUE, EARL OF HALIFAX.

From a Painting by Kneller.

been able to assist him hitherto, but I hope he will be provided for ere long and tell him that the session is near ending and I expect to have his company when I am able to enjoy it. Let me see you as soon as you come to town that I may carry you to kiss the King's hand. I believe you may have a lodging near me.

"I am Sir

"Your most obedient Servant

"CHAS. MONTAGUE."

In reference to this appointment Brewster says * :—

"About three months before Newton's appointment Mr. Montague had been placed at the head of the Royal Society, and it must have been very gratifying to the Fellows that their most distinguished member had been promoted by their new President. When it was stated by some grumblers that Mr. Montague had given Newton employment before he wanted it or asked for it, either Montague or someone else replied, 'That he would not suffer the lamp which gave so much light to want oil.' Thus refreshed, the lamp continued to burn, and with no flickering light. Its asbestos torch, though it had been kept at a high temperature for a quarter of a century, was unconsumed, and required only the gaseous material to make it continue its brilliant though chastened light ; as if to give a prophetic reply to the allegation that his mind had been injuriously overwrought by study and enervated by office, he solved, about a year after his appointment, the celebrated problems with which John Bernoulli challenged the 'acutest mathematicians in the world.' When the great geometer Basle saw the anonymous solution, he recognised the intellectual lion by the grandeur of his claw ; and in their future contests on the fluxionary controversy, both he and Leibnitz had reason to feel that the sovereign of the forest, though assailed by invisible marksmen, had neither lost a tooth nor broken a claw."

I shall now have the unfeigned pleasure of quoting from Haynes's MS. the general opinion formed of the appointment of Sir Isaac Newton to the office of Warden of the Mint, and recorded by Haynes at the very time it was made. On page 131 he says :—

* "Life of Newton," vol. ii., page 192.

“But two of the three other principal stations in the Mint were very well supplied. For on 25th March, 1696, Mr. Isaac Newton public professor of the mathematics in Cambridge, the greatest Philosopher and one of the best men of this age, was by a great and wise statesman recommended to the favour of the late King for Warden of the King’s Mints and exchanges for which station he was peculiarly qualified because of his extraordinary skill in numbers and his great integrity. By the first of which he could judge perfectly well of the Mint accounts and transactions as soon as he entered upon his office. By the latter, I mean his Integrity, he set a standard to the conduct and behaviour of every officer in the Mint.

“Well had it been for the public had he acted a few years sooner in that station, it is more than probable a good part of the silver moneys had been preserved by his vigilant and indefatigable prosecution, from the havock that was made upon them by clipping and counterfeiting. And the assize of our gold moneys had been brought to that exactness as to have prevented a very ill but a very ordinary practice of picking out and remelting the weighty pieces.

“This was a very beneficial trade to some but fatal to the standard and increase of the public Treasure. Since the assize of the coin has been more immediately a part of this gentleman’s care, we have seen it brought to that extraordinary nicety especially in the gold moneys, as was never known in any reign before this, and perhaps cannot be paralleled in any other Nation. So that in time we may defy the cunning and artifice of all mankind to make any advantage by the inequality of the pieces coined at the Tower.

Of so great consequence to the State is the well executing the office of Warden of the Mint, and of so good consequence has the execution of it been under this admirable gentleman, that in time he will be no less valued at home, on this account, than he is admired by all the *Philosophical World* abroad for his wonderful advancement of the *Mathematical Sciences*. By the last he has benefited mankind and by the first he has done justice to the English Nation, of which he is one of the chief glories.”

The next point of interest which I must mention is the means adopted by Montague for meeting the great deficiency caused by the exchange of new and good money for the clipped and debased, which deficiency was estimated would exceed a million. There had been a tax

called "hearth money," which was an imposition upon every fireplace, whether a fire were burning in it or not. This was a very odious tax, for it necessitated domiciliary visits always so detestable to Englishmen. The collectors had the opprobrious name of "chimney-men." Well, the Chancellor of the Exchequer determined to do away with this and substitute a window tax in its place, one great advantage of which being that the number of windows could be seen from the outside and therefore the hateful domiciliary visits would be no longer necessary. He also proposed that the inhabitants of cottages, who had been cruelly harassed by the "chimney-men," should be altogether exempted from the new duty.

Still further did he endeavour to make the tax chiefly fall upon the more wealthy by proposing that every dwelling house (except cottages) should pay two shillings per annum, but those having ten windows should pay six shillings per annum, and those with twenty windows ten shillings per annum. The money thus raised was to be devoted to the payment of the deficiency caused by the clipped money. The whole of this plan was approved of by the Committee of Ways and Means and was sanctioned by the House without a division, and the measure also received the royal assent.

The next great difficulty was the panic that seized the uneducated classes. They did not understand that the law lately passed was for their benefit, and the enemies of the Government laboured indefatigably to increase their uneasiness. In every place of public resort, from the chocolate house in St. James's Street to the sanded kitchen alehouse on the village green, they harangued the suffering multitudes and incited them to rise in rebellion. Tumults arose in several parts of the country, but were soon suppressed without bloodshed. All this

time Newton was working hard at the Mint to issue large quantities of new coin in place of the clipped. The old officers of the Mint had thought it a great feat to coin silver to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds in a week; so that, when Montague talked of producing thirty or forty thousand, these men pronounced the thing impracticable. The energies, however, of the young Chancellor of the Exchequer and of Newton soon accomplished far greater wonders.

Nine new presses were set up in the Tower and the number of melting furnaces greatly increased; also quite a little army of workmen were trained and employed in all the departments, so that in a short time the coinage produced in a week amounted to over a hundred thousand pounds. Mints were also established at Bristol, York, Exeter, Norwich, and Chester, in order that the new money might have so many centres throughout England from whence it might be issued and circulated, which arrangement was very popular. The machinery and the workmen were welcomed to the new stations with the ringing of bells and the firing of guns.*

In the course of a year great relief was felt, and the "Grand Coinage," as it was called, began to tell favourably upon the commerce of the country. Haynes in his MS. refers to this return of prosperity in glowing terms, and also goes so far as to attribute the end of the war to the moral effect it had upon the Court of France. His words are so telling and so interesting that I feel I must give them in full. After expatiating upon the justice and prudence of the policy pursued, he says:—

"And I am of opinion that this great work has some title to the honour of putting an end to the late long and expensive war.

* Macaulay.

For the Court at Versailles, seeing we dare undertake such a task as restoring the whole cash of the kingdom when the Government was loaded with prodigious debts, drained by vast expenses and embarrassed with an infinite number of difficulties ; and noticing that upon the restitution of the coin in 1697 trade began to revive and the nation was in some respects in a better position than at the beginning of the war. Also when the many millions we had coined in gold and silver were publicly known abroad, France saw that we were not destitute of steady councils nor of a vast cash to continue the war with her, and that it was in vain for her to hope for any success against us whilst we were under the conduct of so just and wise a Government, and though we all know the prospect of the Spanish succession was the chief inducement at Versailles to desire a peace of the confederates, yet I may be excused if I offer to say that the peace was not actually concluded till November, 1697, when we had actually coined about six millions in silver.

“The Roman Orator tells us in his 3rd Book of Offices that Marius Gratidianus was honoured with public statues by the Romans for restoring their adulterated coins: with what gratitude ought we, then, to remember that reign and those persons who advised and performed so great a work at such a time and under so many difficulties and with such opposition, yet of that vast consequence to the public and so much for the honour and glory of England, which has now the purest and noblest and the most beautiful gold and silver cash, and it may be the richest of any one nation in the universe.”

In 1699 the Mastership of the Mint became vacant, and Montague, being then First Lord of the Treasury, promoted Newton to that high office, which was worth from £1,200 to £1,500 a year, a large income in those times. This office he held to the end of his life, viz. for twenty-eight years. Not only was Newton the most able Master that had ever held that office, but he was also one of the most conscientious, of which the following anecdote given by Brewster* is a good illustration; it was related to Mr. Conduitt by Rev. Dr. Derham, an old friend

* Vol. ii., page 193.

of Newton's, in a very interesting letter, dated Upminster, 18th July, 1733, in which he says :—

“The last thing that I shall trouble you with shall be a passage relating to the coinage of the copper money some years ago, which pleased me much in setting forth the integrity of my friend Sir Isaac. The subject of our discourse was the great inconvenience which many underwent by the delay of the coinage of this sort of money. The occasion of which delay, Sir Isaac told me, was from the numerous petitions that were presented to them, in most of which some person or other of quality was concerned. Amongst others he told me that an agent of one had made him an offer of above £6,000, which Sir Isaac refusing on account of its being a bribe, the agent said he saw no dishonesty in the acceptance of the offer, and that Sir Isaac understood not his own interest. To which Sir Isaac replied that he knew well enough what was his duty and that no bribes should corrupt him. The agent then told him that he came from a great Duchess, and pleaded her quality and interest. To which Sir Isaac roughly answered, ‘I desire you to tell the lady that if she were here herself and had made this offer I would have desired her to go out of my house ; and so I desire you or you shall be turned out.’ Afterwards he learned who the Duchess was.”

While Newton had the inferior office of Warden of the Mint he retained the Lucasian Chair, but upon his promotion to the Mastership in 1699 he appointed Mr. Whiston his deputy at Cambridge, with the full profits of the place. Whiston began his astronomical lectures on 27th January, 1701, and when Newton resigned the chair on 10th December, 1701, he succeeded in getting Whiston appointed his successor. When he resigned his Fellowship, which he did soon after, he stood tenth on the list, and had he remained a Fellow till August, 1702, he would have been elected a Senior. In November, 1692, he was elected as one of the Members for the University for King William's second Parliament. And on 30th November, 1703, upon the retirement of Lord Somers, he was elected President of the Royal Society, and was annually re-elected during the remaining twenty-four years of his life, having



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.
From an Old Print in the Vestry of Holy Trinity, Monmouth

thus held the office for a longer time than any of his predecessors, and longer, too, than any of his successors, Sir Joseph Banks excepted.*

Faulkner, in his "History of Chelsea," tells a delightful story of Newton when he was President of the Royal Society which I cannot omit. Sir Hans Sloane, an eminent physician, had acted as Secretary for the Society for some years without accepting any emolument for his services, and, indeed, went further, for he bore the expense of the extensive correspondence. One evening Sir Hans was reading a paper of his own composition before the fellows when a Dr. Woodward said something grossly insulting about it. Dr. Sloane complained, and, moreover, stated that he had often affronted him by making grimaces at him, upon which Dr. Arbuthnot got up and begged to be informed what distortion of a man's face constituted a grimace? Sir Isaac Newton was in the chair when a question of expelling Dr. Woodward from the council was brought forward; and when it was pleaded that he was a good natural philosopher Sir Isaac remarked, "that in order to belong to that Society a man ought to be a good moral philosopher as well as a natural one."†

This is only another of the numerous instances we have on record of the high-toned consistency that was constantly manifested by this great and good man. Sir Hans Sloane, on the death of Newton, was elected President, and continued in that distinguished office for fourteen successive years. He always said that his greatest glory was succeeding to the chair of Newton.

Though strongly tempted to write more, I feel that I must draw this chapter to a close. I cannot do so, however, without just noticing the piety of Newton and

* Brewster, vol. ii., page 209.

† Faulkner, vol. ii., page 347.

his great reverence for the Bible. Upon this point Brewster says:—

“ Cherishing its doctrines, and leaning on its promises, he felt it his duty, as it was his delight, to apply to it that intellectual strength with which he had successfully surmounted the difficulties of the material Universe. The fame which that success procured him he could not but feel to be the breath of popular applause which administered only to his personal feelings, but the investigation of the sacred mysteries, while it prepared his *own* mind for its final destiny, was calculated to promote the spiritual interests of thousands. This noble impulse he did not hesitate to obey, and by thus uniting philosophy with religion he dissolved the league which genius had formed with scepticism, and added to the cloud of witnesses the brightest name of ancient or of modern times.” *

These sentiments are beautifully put into poetry by Thomson :—

“ What wonder, then, that his devotion swelled
Responsive to his knowledge ! for could he,
Whose piercing mental eye diffusive saw
The finished university of things,
In all its order, magnitude, and parts,
Forebear incessant to adore that Power
Who fills, sustains, and actuates the whole ? ”

Some months previous to his death he was several times confined to the house from attacks of the gout and other maladies, during which time he amused himself with reading ; but Mr. Conduitt informs us that the book which was commonly lying before him, and which he read oftenest, was a duodecimo Bible. This Holy Book had been his guide through life, and was his consolation in sickness and death. He died on 20th March, 1727, between one and two o'clock in the morning, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

* Brewster's "Life of Newton," vol. ii., page 359.

His body was removed from Kensington to London, and on Tuesday, the 28th March, it lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and was thence conveyed into the Abbey and was buried near the entrance to the choir, on the left hand. The Pall was supported by the Lord High Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburghe, and the Earls of Pembroke, Sussex, and Macclesfield, who were Fellows of the Royal Society. The Honourable Sir Michael Newton, Knight of the Bath, was chief mourner, and was followed by some other relations and several eminent persons who were intimately acquainted with the deceased philosopher. The Bishop of Rochester performed the funeral service, attended by the Prebends and the choir. The marble monument in the Abbey was erected by his relations, and has the following Latin inscription :—

"HIC SITUS EST
 ISAACUS NEWTON, EQUES AURATUS,
 QUI ANIMI VI PROPE DIVINA,
 PLANETARUM MOTUS, FIGURAS,
 COMETARUM SEMITAS OCEANIQUE ÆSTUS,
 SUA MATHESI FACEM PREFERENTE,
 PRIMUS DEMONSTRAVIT.
 RADIORUM LUCIS DISSIMILITUDINES,
 COLORUMQUE INDE NASCENTIUM PROPRIETATES,
 QUAS NEMO ANTEA VEL SUSPICATUS ERAT PERVESTIGAVIT,
 NATURÆ, ANTIQUITATIS, S. SCRIPTURÆ
 SEDULUS, SAGAX, FIDUS INTERPRES,
 DEI OPT. MAX. MAJESTATEM PHILOSOPHIA ASSERTUIT,
 EVANGELII SIMPLICITATEM MORIBUS EXPRESSIT.
 SIBI GRATULENTUR MORTALES, TALE TANTUMQUE EXTISISSE
 HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.
 NATUS XXV DECEMB. MDCXLII. OBIIT XX MAR.
 MDCCXXVII."

This inscription may be thus translated :—

Here lies
 Sir Isaac Newton, Knight,
 Who by a vigour of mind almost divine,
 And using the light of his mathematical knowledge,
 First demonstrated
 The Motions and Figures of the Planets,
 The paths of the Comets, and the Tides of the Ocean.
 He diligently investigated
 The different refrangibilities of the Rays of Light,
 And the properties of the Colours to which they give rise,
 Which no one before had even suspected.
 An Assiduous, Sagacious, and Faithful Interpreter
 Of Nature, Antiquity, and the Holy Scriptures,
 He asserted in his Philosophy
 The Majesty of the most Gracious and Mighty God,
 And exhibited in his conduct the simplicity of the Gospel.
 Let Mortals rejoice
 That there has existed such and so great
 AN ORNAMENT OF THE HUMAN RACE.
 Born 25th Dec., 1642. Died 20th March, 1727.

III.

The Good Earl.



THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CHICHESTER.

From a Photograph by Messrs. W. and A. H. Fry.

III.

The Good Earl.

I MUST now resume my account of the Pelham family, but will pass by several generations in order to speak first of the Sir John Pelham a photograph of whose tomb is given on page 52. This knight succeeded to the estates of his family when he was twenty-three years of age, and was elected one of the knights of the shire for Sussex in the Parliament which began April 22nd, 1571. When Queen Elizabeth made one of her stately progresses through Kent and Sussex, Pelham, being then at Rye, received the honour of knighthood from her Majesty August 12th, 1573. For it must be noted that though for many generations the heads of this family had been knighted, the title had not descended; for knighthood never was hereditary, and that of baronet did not come into existence until King James's time, to which I shall presently refer.

The chief information respecting this Sir John is derived from his will, which is dated July 28th in the twenty-second year of Elizabeth. In it he ordered his body to be buried decently without pomp or superstition at the discretion of his executors, and bequeathed to Judith his wife for the term of her life all his manors within the rape of Hastings settled on her at his marriage, and also his manors of Laughton and Colbrans with their revenues for the space of twenty years, should Oliver Pelham, his son

live so long, to buy the wardship of his said son to his own use, and to bring him up in virtue, learning, and knowledge.

He bequeathed also to his said son the manor of Bishopston, which on failure of issue should pass to Thomas Pelham, brother of him the said John. And he made his wife sole executrix, to the intent that she might purchase his wardship, being desirous that she should retain him in her own guardianship in order that she might carefully train him in virtue and learning; and he endowed her the more largely that she might liberally bestow it on their son when he came of sufficient age to make good use of his patrimony. He ordained his brother-in-law (Mr. John St. John), his uncle (Sir William Pelham, Knight), his cousin (Herbert Pelham), and his brother (Thomas Pelham), overseers of his will, requiring them to be aiding and comforting his said wife, both in the execution of his will and obtaining the wardship for his child. He wills to his wife the residue of his goods, chattels, etc., and concludes in these words:—

“And thus I leave them both to the protection of the Almightye into whose hands I committe my spiritte. Thowe hast redeemed me thowe Lord God of Trewthe.”

His wife, Lady Pelham, the daughter of Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, buried her husband in a vault beneath our church and erected the monument. The date, however, upon it, or that in the register, must be wrong; both events could not have happened on the same day. The entry in our register is as follows:—

“1580. Sir John Pelham knight was buried by torche lyght the 13 day of October between the howers of 5 and 6 in the morning.”

This was a most singular time for the funeral, and it is difficult to conceive a reason for it. The tomb is a very

handsome one (see page 52), and is, I believe, composed of alabaster, which has unfortunately been since covered with paint, and contains the figures of Sir John Pelham and his wife, together with his son, all kneeling, and bears the following inscription:—

“DEATHE FIRST DID STRIKE SIR JOHN HEARE TOMB'D IN CLAYE
AND THEN ENFORST HIS SONNE TO FOLLOWE FASTE;
OF PELHAM'S LINE THIS KNYGHT WAS CHIEFE AND STAY;
BY THIS BEHOLD ALL FLESHE MUST DYE AT LASTE.
BUT BLETSOWE'S LORD THY SISTER MOST MAY MOANE,
BOTHE MATE AND SONNE HATH LEFT HER HERE ALONE.

SIR JOHN PELHAM DYED OCTOBER 13, 1580.

OLIVER PELHAM HIS SONNE DYED JANUARIE 19, 1584.”

Above these effigies is a shield bearing the Pelham arms quarterly, and surmounted with a helmet and the family crest, a peacock in its pride. On the lower part of the monument is an escutcheon charged with the arms of Pelham impaling those of Sir John Bletsoe, in the county of Bedford, and introducing the principal matches of the latter family. Beneath this escutcheon is a compartment containing a large and handsome buckle, as will be seen in the photograph, and the words,

“*Christus mihi vita, et mors lucrum.*” *

In a previous chapter I mentioned that the buckle was a familiar object in East Sussex, and appears on many a church tower, chimney, milestone, and font. I have given two specimens of this—one, on page 444, where the arms and buckle are carved on the door of the tower of Laughton Church; the other, where the buckle and arms are on the hood-moulding of the door of Crowhurst Church, and the buckle in the tracery of the window. The tower is of the fifteenth century (see page 70).

* “Christ to me is life and death gain.”

I have stated that the title of knight never was hereditary, but in 1611 James I. instituted a new order of hereditary knighthood under the title of baronets; and Thomas Pelham just mentioned, the brother of Sir John, was the seventh person who received this title.

King James instituted this order at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Cotton, to whom the plan had been submitted by Sir Thomas Sherley of Wiston, its actual inventor. Originally the creation of this order was merely an expedient to raise money, and the cost of a baronetcy in each case amounted to £1,095, exclusive of the fees. The money thus raised was professedly intended for the defence and maintenance of the new plantation in the province of Ulster, but, as a matter of fact, it actually passed at once into the King's exhausted exchequer. According to the instructions given to the Commissioners appointed for admitting to the new dignity, none but men who were entitled to bear arms, who were of high reputation, and had a certain yearly revenue of £1,000 per annum from land were to receive the title. The number created by James was two hundred, for which therefore he must have received no less a sum than £219,000, which would be equal to more than half a million of money in these days.

Of the second baronet, Sir Thomas Pelham, not much can be said, for on the usurpation of Cromwell he withdrew from political life, and lived in retirement till the time of his decease, which took place in 1654. The third baronet, Sir John, was a man highly esteemed, and took an active part in the restoration of Charles II. The fourth baronet, Sir Thomas, was raised to the peerage in 1706 under the title of Baron Pelham of Laughton, in Sussex. The second Lord Pelham was a man of considerable mark. By the last will of his uncle, John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, he was adopted his heir and authorised to bear



JAMES THE FIRST.

From a Painting by A. vander Werff.

the arms of Holles. On the accession of George I., for whose dynasty he had shown himself a strenuous partisan, he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Middlesex and Nottinghamshire, with a number of other high offices. In 1714 his Majesty created him Earl of Clare, in the county of Suffolk, and Viscount Haughton, with remainder in default of male issue to his brother, the Right Honourable Henry Pelham. The next year he was created Marquis of Clare and Duke of Newcastle. Two years later his Grace married Lady H. Godolphin, the daughter of Henrietta, Countess of Godolphin, who was eldest daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough, and became in succession to her father Duchess of Marlborough in her own right. The Duchess of Newcastle was therefore grand-daughter of John, the first Duke of Marlborough, the hero of Blenheim.

When the King visited his Hanoverian dominions, the Duke attended him on his tour, and a few years afterwards his Grace had a new patent of nobility granted in which he was styled Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne, to hold to him and his heirs male, and in default thereof to his nephew, Henry Fiennes Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and his heirs male. In 1762 he was created Baron Pelham of Stanmer, in Sussex. His Grace, under the three first Sovereigns of the House of Brunswick, filled the several posts of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, Secretary of State, First Lord of the Treasury, and one of the Lords Justices during the temporary absence of George I. He was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, a Privy Councillor, a Knight of the Garter, and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Duke dying in 1768 without issue, his title of Duke of Newcastle-on-Tyne became extinct, but that of Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne passed as limited to the Earl

of Lincoln, and the Barony of Pelham of Stanmer with the baronetcy devolved upon Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, Esquire, grandson of Henry Pelham, younger brother of the first Lord Pelham. This Lord Pelham, on the 23rd June, 1801, was elevated to the rank of Earl of Chichester. He died four years afterwards, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas, who had made his mark in the House of Commons before his father had been elevated to an earldom, and when that event happened he took his seat in the House of Lords under his father's former title of Baron Pelham of Stanmer. He died 4th July, 1826, and was succeeded in the earldom by his eldest surviving son, Henry Thomas, whom I purpose calling

THE GOOD EARL.

Of this nobleman I must say a little, for he has left behind him a name in the religious world that will not soon be forgotten. His Lordship was born 25th August, 1804, and died 15th March, 1886. He was therefore eighty-two years of age at his decease; and as he entered upon the title and estates when twenty-two, he enjoyed them for sixty years. The Earl of Chichester married on 11th August, 1828, Lady Mary Brudenell, fifth daughter of the sixth Earl of Cardigan.

In 1834 his Lordship accepted the office of President of the Church Missionary Society, and continued to hold that honourable office until the day of his death—namely, for fifty-one years, during which time he was only once absent from the anniversary meetings of the Society, and he took the chair forty-seven times: the only three occasions of his being present without taking his proper seat being in 1848, 1869, and 1883, when Archbishops Sumner, Tait, and Benson respectively presided on their attendance for the first time after their elevation to the

Primacy. This remarkable circumstance of attending fifty annual meetings out of fifty-one during his tenure of office, I should think, must be quite unique. The only approach to it that I know of is the case of Lord Shaftesbury, who was for thirty-four years President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and never once missed taking the chair at the annual meeting during those thirty-four years. This says much for the health as well as for the conscientiousness of these two noblemen.

When his Lordship accepted the office of President of the Church Missionary Society, he addressed a letter to the Secretary in these words:—

“Deene Park, December 24th, 1834.

“My dear Sir,

“Having now had an opportunity of seriously considering the subject of your letter, with the assistance of a better judgment than my own, I write to inform the Committee that I gratefully accept the honorable post which they have assigned to me, of President of the Society. I need scarcely say how highly I value the privilege of possessing the confidence and regard of a Christian institution so deservedly beloved and so largely supported by the members of the Church of England.

“And unworthy as I feel to occupy so conspicuous a station amongst the people of God in this country, I humbly trust in answer to our united prayers our Gracious Master may so change me by His own Almighty Spirit that I may become a useful and zealous instrument in promoting His glory and in efficiently serving that portion of His Church which I have so much reason to venerate and to love.

“I beg that you will communicate this answer to the Committee with my warmest feelings of Christian gratitude and respect, and I remain, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

“CHICHESTER.

“The Rev. W. Jowett.”

The *Record* fifty years afterwards had this notice in reference to the Earl of Chichester's Jubilee:—

“In December, 1834, just half a century ago, the office of President of the Church Missionary Society was accepted by the

Right Hon. the Earl of Chichester. For fifty years, with but one exception, his Lordship has been present at the Annual Meetings of the Society. . . . His wide experience, his mature and statesman-like judgments, and above all his ripened Christian principles have rendered his counsel invaluable to the Committee, and it is no small addition to to-day's grounds for hearty congratulation and profound thanksgiving, that not only is his Lordship able to preside on this auspicious occasion, but that with faculties and memory unimpaired he still responds to every appeal from the committee for his presence and counsel."

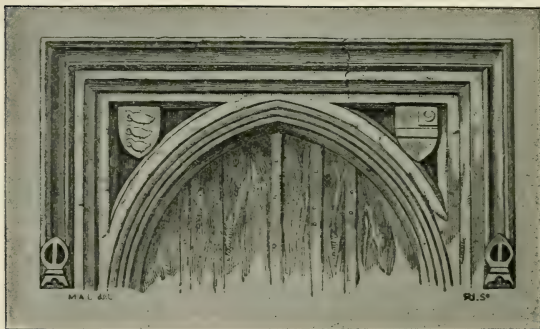
For little more than a year after this was written, the Earl of Chichester continued to act as President of the Society, and then on March 15th, 1886, at midnight he fell asleep in Jesus. He had taken a severe cold, and before he was quite recovered was induced to go to Brighton to pay a visit to a poor invalid who had been bedridden for thirty-three years, when it is feared he greatly increased the cold on his chest. This was on a Friday, and the following Monday he entered into his rest in Heaven! Mr. Alexander Beattie, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, writes in reference to this event:—

"It would be difficult to express the loss the Society has sustained by this bereavement; for more than fifty years Lord Chichester has filled the important office of President with great ability and judgment. In those various periods of the Society's progress and difficulties his wise counsel and firm attachment to the principles of the Society have been always available, and he spared neither pains nor labour to promote its interests. Led in comparatively early life under the influence of one of the Society's friends to accept for himself the fulness and freeness of the gospel of Christ, it has been the desire of his long life, since that happy union with his precious Saviour, to make that Gospel known at home and abroad, and hence his devoted attachment to the Society which he loved so well and clung to most closely till his dying day. In the Committee, when able to preside at its meetings, all will remember the calm dignity with which he guided the proceedings and at our Annual Meetings few will fail to remember the words that fell from his lips, showing the value he attached to the Society's work and interests.

"His blessed spirit is 'among the spirits of the just made perfect,' and we must pray that a portion of the grace which adorned his character may be bestowed on those whom God has spared to carry on that work which our heavenly Master has assigned to all His people, even to preach the gospel to every creature."

I am sure my readers will feel that I am right in calling this Earl of Chichester "The Good Earl." The deceased nobleman was succeeded in the earldom by his son, Sir Walter John Pelham, Baron Pelham of Stanmer, county of Sussex, and a baronet, who is a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became M.A. in 1859. His Lordship was born 22nd September, 1838; and married 18th June, 1861, Elizabeth Mary, only daughter of the Hon. Sir John Duncan Bligh, K.C.B. During the years 1865 to 1874 he was Member of Parliament for Lewes, and succeeded his father as fourth Earl in 1886. May God long spare his life to tread in that good father's footsteps!

This then is the story of the Pelham family and of the remarkable "PELHAM BUCKLE."



PELHAM BUCKLE AND ARMS ON THE DOOR OF LAUGHTON CHURCH.

ÆV.

The Fabric, Plate, Registers, and Charities.



THE PLATE OF HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES.

See page 150.

ÆV.

The Fabric, Plate, Registers, and Charities.

IN a former chapter I have given rather full particulars of the first building of the Abbey and of its after endowments. What is now the church of Holy Trinity, Minories, was then the chapel of the Abbey of St. Clare; but when it was first given its present name I am not quite sure, though we know from the registers it was so called as far back as 1563—that is, in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and only twenty-five years after Lady Elizabeth Savage resigned the Monastery to Henry VIII. During those twenty-five years it seems that residential houses had been built upon the precincts; for Mr. Hill tells us that the inhabitants of the close of the Monastery earnestly requested that the church might be allotted to them, which request was granted upon the express stipulation that they should always contribute towards the support of the minister of the parish.

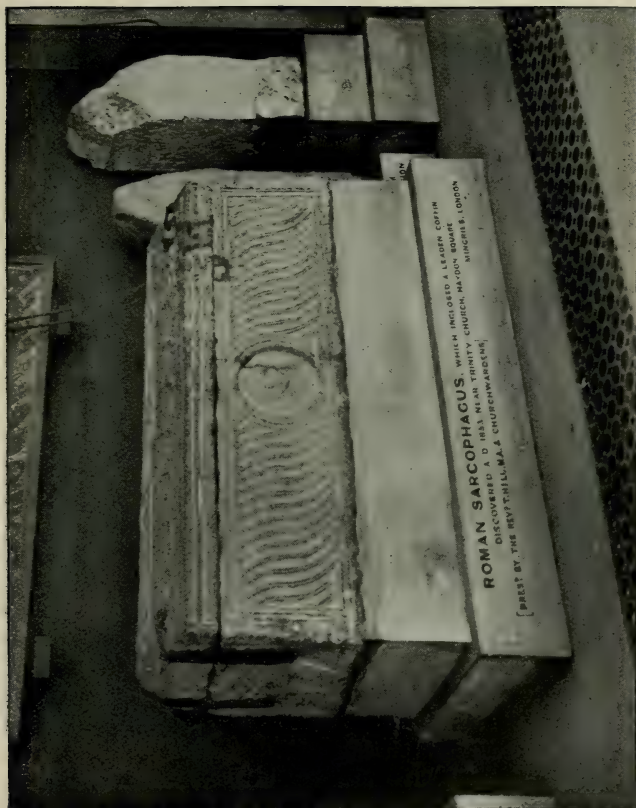
An inscription that existed on one of the windows stated that the church had been repaired several times in the years 1618, 1624, and again in the year 1636. It escaped, however, the violence of the great fire of London, in 1666, which did not extend so far as the Minories; but in 1706, having become very old, it was taken down and rebuilt from the ground, with the exception of the north wall. Upon this north wall are placed the chief monuments, and on cutting into it a few years ago to fix up

a new tablet, it was found to be very solid and composed chiefly of flints embedded in very hard mortar. Above the churchwardens' pew, carved in oak, there is the date 1625, which is a proof that it escaped the fire.

The re-erection cost only £700, towards which Lady Pritchard gave £100. She was the widow of Sir William Pritchard, the Lord Mayor about whom I have written; £200 was given by Daniel King, Esq., and the rest by the inhabitants. The church is 63 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, and about 30 feet to the top of the dome-like skylight in the centre of the ceiling. There is no steeple built in the form of other ecclesiastical buildings, but at the west end there is a turret which contains the three bells. The floor of the interior is paved with stones, and there are two aisles running from east to west.

The church is wainscoted all round to the height of 6 feet. The pulpit is composed of oak, and formerly had a fine sounding-board over it, in reference to which there is a tradition that a churchwarden some years ago took it away and made a table of it. I give a photograph of this pulpit, which is finely carved, on page 478. The reredos was erected in 1706, which is also of carved oak, and is a very handsome structure, adorned with four pilasters, an entablature, and a compass pediment, underneath which is a dove descending, surrounded with glory. Its intercolumns have the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed painted in blue and red letters upon a white ground. The communion table is placed upon a flooring of beautiful white marble veined with blue, which is enclosed with a handsome oaken rail and banister. All these points of interest will be seen in the photograph on page xxviii. The font, which was taken from the ruins of the former church, is placed at

D D



See page 450.

the east end. The Abbey was burnt down on the 25th of March, 1797—the walls of which were of Caen stone, and the timber work of oak and chestnut.

The churchyard is very small. Part of it is, in the front, separated from the road by iron posts; the other portions, also small, are on the south side, and at the back of the church. From the numerous entries in the Burial Register, it would seem at one time to have been much larger; and also it appears to have been a burialplace from very early times, for near by, on the property of my senior churchwarden, a Roman sarcophagus was found in 1853. In it there was a leaden coffin in which were the bones of a Roman lad, who from the carving upon the sarcophagus would seem to have been of noble birth. These bones were, I believe, put into a mahogany box and placed in one of the vaults under the chancel, whilst the sarcophagus was sent to the British Museum, where it may be seen on the left-hand side of the Roman Gallery: of this I give a photograph on page 449.

THE PLATE.

I must now describe the plate, of which there are fourteen pieces (page 446), the two most important being the flagons given in 1669 by Colonel William Legge, father of the first Lord Dartmouth. These flagons, though precisely the same pattern, differ a little in weight, one being 45 oz. 5 dwt. and the other 44 oz. 3 dwt. The height of each is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The diameter at the base is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and therefore nearly 2 feet in circumference. The diameter of the upper part is $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, or nearly 1 foot 2 inches in circumference. The inscription upon each is: "The guift of Col: William Legge of His Majesty's Bedchamber 25 Dec: 1669." The arms of the Colonel are also beautifully engraved on each.



ONE OF TWO FLAGONS PRESENTED BY COLONEL WILLIAM JEGGE.

See page 450.

There are two beautiful silver cups, or chalices, each with a conical cover, the height to the top of the cover being $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches and the circumference of the bowl at foot of each $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One weighs 9 oz. 5 dwt., and is inscribed with a coat-of-arms, which, I suppose, is that of the donor, and with the date 1637. The other weighs 11 oz. 7 dwt., and is inscribed with a coat-of-arms and "Ex dono M. B. 1722."

I must next say something of the ewer. Mr. Freshfield, in his excellent work upon "*Communion Plate of the City Churches*," writes: It is "a pretty piece of plate, and the only thing of its kind in the City church plate." It has a handle and spout, and is inscribed: "The gift of Phillip Paffree to y^e parish church of Trinity Minories, Arthur Rowland Churchwarden 20 May 1683." Its height is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the circumference of the bowl at the top, about 14 inches; and the weight is 18 oz. 5 dwt. The two silver patens were given by the parish, bearing the date of 1719; they each weigh 23 oz. 6 dwt., and the diameter of each is 8 inches. A silver spoon for removing pieces of cork or flies from the wine bears the date of 1746, and weighs 17 dwt.

There are four alms-dishes. Two of them were given by Captain John Partis, in 1730, each weighing 30 oz., and having a diameter of nearly 10 inches. The other two were given by John Judson, Esq., in 1808, each of which weigh 30 oz. 2 dwt., and both are nearly 10 inches in diameter. There must have been an excellent congregation in 1808 to require two more alms dishes. At that time railways were not in existence, and many merchants lived near their warehouses.

The last piece of plate I have to mention is the head of the beadle's staff (page 454), which has the royal crown at the top of an urn. This is, perhaps, to indicate

that the church is in the gift of the sovereign, and takes the place of the royal arms seen in many churches. It will be seen lying on the table in the photograph of the group of officials; and is also used as a gilt ornament on the back of this book.

THE REGISTERS

are numerous and of much historical interest, but my space will only allow me to say a little respecting them. I have on page 461 given the title-page of the first register, commencing with 21st December, 1563, the baptisms, births, and burials being all in one book. The entries for the first thirty-six years seem to have been copied from a former register by the Rev. William Park, in 1599, and all which entries are apparently in his own handwriting. This I found rather difficult at first to make out, as he formed his letters very peculiarly — “christening” being spelt “cyrystenyngs,” the “h” being topsy-turvy.

The chief remarkable feature of these registers is that some of those containing the marriages are large books; for weddings in the church were at one time very numerous. During the year 1697 there were no less than 956 marriages, it being a very common thing for six, eight, and ten weddings to take place in one day. I see on the 8th January, 1679, there were eleven celebrated during the day. The incumbent, the Rev. John King, must have been kept very busy in those days, and must have derived from such weddings a large income. There is no doubt that this popularity was partly occasioned by the number of distinguished people who attended this church; but as the parish has always been very small, very many of the bridal parties must have come from a distance.



TOP OF SILVER MACE.

I rather think that this record of nearly a thousand in one year beats that of St. George's, Hanover Square, which rose into notoriety for its numerous weddings in the last century, the income from which was so large that Dr. Dodd is said to have offered Lady Apsley, wife of the then Lord Chancellor, £3,000 to use her private interest in obtaining for him this living on the retirement of Dr. Moss, the rector, who had been preferred to the See of Bath and Wells. Of course a direct refusal was given him; and when he was afterwards tried for forgery, this attempt to corrupt the integrity of Lady Apsley went seriously against him, and he was condemned to be hanged. Being a popular preacher and an active promoter of public charities, he had numerous friends. It, therefore, happened that a petition was drawn up entreating the King to pardon him or commute his sentence, which Henry Angelo* says had over one hundred thousand signatures, many of which were by men of rank, wealth and talent—Johnson being amongst the latter. The King, however, thought it his duty to let the law take its course.

* Page 459 of "Reminiscences."

With regard to these marriages, Mr. John Ashton, in his work "*The Marriages, etc., in the Fleet*," says :

"Marriages were performed without licence or banns in many churches, which claimed to be peculiars and exempt from the visitation of the Ordinary. For St. James's, Duke's Place, now pulled down, denied the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London because the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London were Lords of the Manor. . . . The Chapel of Holy Trinity, Minories, pleaded privilege on the ground that it was a peculiar, as Westminster Abbey or the Deanery of Windsor ; whilst the chapel in the Tower sought exemption because they were Royal Chapels."

This privilege claimed by Holy Trinity dates back almost to its commencement, as my readers will see on referring to page 15, part of which account I will re-copy here :—

"Then follow some extraordinary privileges, in which Pope Boniface releases the Abbey altogether from the power and authority of the Bishop of London, in whose diocese it was situate, and from the power and authority of the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of their respective chapters, as well as from that of every other prelate or person ecclesiastical, or civil, for ever. Also he decrees that the members of the house and their successors, with their houses and possessions aforesaid, shall be immediately subject to the Bishop and Church of Rome only ; and that, in token of such immunity received from the Holy See, they shall annually pay to him and his successors one pound of wax—a small fee, by the way, for such great immunity. The Pope goes on to decree :—'That it shall be lawful for no man whatsoever to infringe or rashly oppose this grant'; adding that 'if anyone presume or attempt it, let him know that he will incur the displeasure of Almighty God and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul.'"

On looking into our earliest register I noticed that in 1600 there were only four weddings, and it was not till 1640 that they began to increase so much, and at last they reached the large numbers mentioned. Then, during the last century they gradually decreased, and still more so in

this, that I find in 1865 there were only six weddings during the year, and during the last ten years there have been only thirteen weddings—averaging little more than one a year. This, doubtless, has arisen from all the merchants in the parish, most of whom are wealthy, going to live in the country, and because the few houses that remain which were once occupied by well-to-do people are now filled from garret to cellar with the poorest of the poor—in many instances there being a family in each room. These dwelling-houses are, however, being gradually pulled down, and warehouses built in their place; so that they will, doubtless, soon disappear altogether. Indeed, at the present time there are only about eight or nine such residential houses still standing; therefore, the present marriage register is not likely to be filled up very soon.

I must now say something respecting

THE CHARITIES

connected with the church. These, when I became incumbent, were various; but the total sum was not more than £13 a year, arising from the interest of monies that had been invested in Government and other securities for the benefit of the poor *at Christmas*. Lady Pritchard, wife of the Sir William Pritchard who, as I have stated elsewhere, was in 1682 the Lord Mayor of London, left instructions for £2 10s. to be divided equally between ten poor widows and ten poor maidens, viz. two shillings and sixpence each, on Christmas day for ever. This £2 10s. was to be a lien upon interest derivable from certain property mentioned in her will, dated 26th April, 1707. An extract from this will we have in our vestry, a copy of which I have given in the Appendix (page 499).

There is an extract from another will hanging up in

the vestry, dated 26th February, 1763, which I have also given in the Appendix, and which states that Mr. David Lindsey left £150 to be invested in Government securities, and the interest to be applied to giving bread to the poor of our parish on Christmas day for ever. With this £150 his executors were able to purchase stock in the Three per cent. Consolidated Annuities to the amount of £160 5s. 9d., the interest upon which was £4 16s. 2d. a year. Then a Mr. John Hide in 1604 left £1 per annum for ever, and Margaret Richardson in 1768 left £2 per annum *for ever*. All these sums and another bequest, however, did not amount, as I have stated, to more than £13 per annum, which sum had been most carefully distributed for about a century and a half.

In consequence of the decrease of inhabitants, I found on entering upon the incumbency that the previous trustees had decided to give to each poor widow in the parish 5s. instead of 2s. 6d., and to divide the rest amongst any of the poor of the parish who should have expressed a wish beforehand to participate in the charity. With this arrangement we were able each year on St. Thomas's day to give to fifty poor families some coals and bread, and a small sum of money to buy some meat or anything else they desired. Therefore, not a single poor family in the parish was without food and firing on Christmas day, the thought of which gave the churchwardens and myself much happiness. Well, all these funds were seized by the Charity Commissioners, not because they were not properly distributed, but simply because they thought proper to alienate them. Lady Pritchard and Mr. David Lindsey both left their money to the poor for ever, and died fully trusting that those who should live after them through all generations would carry out their pious wishes. They believed that the provisions of their wills were so sacred

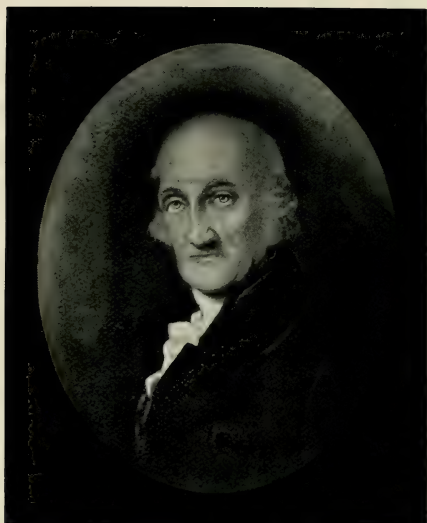
that no alienation would be made of the property ; yet the Charity Commissioners have alienated it, and the poor have suffered much in consequence.

This injury to our poor people was not, however, the only one from which we have suffered, for the Charity Commissioners confiscated the funds we had for the maintenance of religious worship in the church ; and when we pleaded again and again with them, they only left us £13 a year to pay for gas, firing, water, cleaning the church, and for the salaries of the organist, the pew-opener, bell-ringer, etc., as well as many other indispensable expenses. Before this confiscation took place, I wrote a little history of the church in order to raise some funds for the purpose of repairing and restoring it, when the late Earl of Dartmouth most kindly promised me £100 towards such repairs, and a number of my other friends also offered to aid me.

All these kind offers I was obliged to decline, for just at this time the Bishop of London proposed that the church should be amalgamated with St. Botolph's, and a Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter. Thoroughly disheartened at what the Charity Commissioners had done, I consented, at the special request of the Vicar of St. Botolph's (the Rev. R. H. Hadden), to fall in with the scheme, which scheme, however, has not yet been fully accomplished ; and when this happens I am glad to say that the interesting old building is not to be pulled down, but will remain as a church-room, or something of that kind. Should it, however, be eventually removed, I trust this little account of it will remain to tell its past and present history.

XIII.

The Incumbents and Officials.



REV. DR. FLY.

From a miniature Painting in the possession of Mrs. Fly Smith.

III.

The Incumbents and Officials.

At the end of this chapter I have given a list of the incumbents for the past 330 years—that is, from 1563 to 1893. Those up to 1850 are furnished by the Rev. Thomas Hill in his little history of the parish, and I have added the length of the tenure of each, etc. Of these I have only been able to obtain information respecting some three or four. The first of whom I can find any mention is the Rev. William Park, the eighth on the list, and it is but little that can be said about him. Our oldest register of baptisms, marriages, and burials was commenced during his incumbency, and in the forty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Its leaves are parchment, and it has on its title-page this quaint entry:—

“The Register booke of all suche Christenyings Marriages and Burialls as hath bene within the parishe of The Trinity Minories since the XXI daye of December Dom^o 1563 as ffollowing.

“This Register Booke was bought upon fridaye being the 2. daye of November 1599 & in the 41 yeare of the Reign of our Soveraign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. in the tyme of

“Mr. William Park, Minister.

“Mr. Peter ffloyd } Churchwardens.”

“Mr. Thomas Barren }

With regard to these parchment leaves, Mr. Charles H. Athill, the Richmond Herald, tells me that the order under which parish registers were started did not state that they

were to be kept in books of parchment; consequently, in almost every case they were kept in paper books. This omission was rectified in 1603 by an order being issued that for the future parchment books were to be used, and the old paper books were to be transcribed; so that clerks went all over the kingdom transcribing these registers to date. This is specially illustrated by our register, for all the entries from 1563 to 1599 are in the same handwriting, and they appear to be in that of Mr. Park, who was inducted as incumbent in 1598.

It will be seen on looking at the list that this William Park is the second incumbent of the name. The other stands first on the list, and entered upon the office in 1563, thirty-five years previously. Another thing noticeable is that between 1563 and 1633 the incumbents held the office during a very short time, several not even for a year. In 1619 there were three changes in one year. This state of things existed during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. The Rev. Timothy Bracegirdle, however, who was instituted in 1634, the eighth year of Charles I., held the office during the remainder of that King's reign—viz. fifteen years—and through the whole of the eleven years of the Commonwealth, and for one year of Charles II.'s reign: in all twenty-seven years. This is rather remarkable, and we wonder how it happened he was not displaced during the Puritanical times of Cromwell, when so many clergymen were turned out of their livings. The Rev. John King, who was instituted in 1694, retained the office during the last eight years of William III.'s reign; also during the whole twelve years of Queen Anne's reign, and into six years of George I.'s: in all twenty-six years.

But the most remarkable of all was the incumbency of the Rev. Dr. Henry Fly, who held the office for *sixty-three*

years—viz. from 1770 to 1833. That is, during *fifty* years of George III.'s reign, through the whole of George IV.'s, and three years into the reign of William IV. We have in the church on the north wall a tablet bearing the following inscription:—

“IN THE MEMORY OF
 THE REV^D. HENRY FLY, D.D., F.R.S., and S.A.,
 CONFESSOR TO HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD,
 VICAR OF WILLESDEN, MIDDLESEX,
 AND FOR 63 YEARS INCUMBENT OF
 THIS PARISH.
 A MAN OF UNAFFECTED PIETY, SOUND LEARNING,
 AND CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE,
 EVER ANXIOUS TO PROMOTE THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE
 OF HIS PARISHIONERS,
 AND NEVER WEARY IN WELL DOING.
 HE DIED 10TH AUGUST, 1833,
 IN THE 90TH YEAR OF HIS AGE,
 AND WAS INTERRED IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
 OF WHICH HE WAS SUB-DEAN.
 AS A TRIBUTE OF FILIAL GRATITUDE
 AND AFFECTION TO A MUCH LAMENTED
 AND REVERED PARENT,
 THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY HIS
 SURVIVING CHILDREN.”

The great length of time that Dr. Fly was incumbent of the Holy Trinity would alone render him a very interesting personage in connexion with the church, but I shall have something more to tell about him.

Whilst perusing the paper read by him before the Society of Antiquaries in 1802, to which reference is made on page 13, I wondered in my mind whether any of his family were alive, not only that I might obtain permission to make use of the contents of that paper in my first chapter, but also to gain some further

information respecting the venerable incumbent. Two days after this a most singular circumstance occurred. I was staying as a guest with Mrs. Booth Scott at Hampstead, and on my returning home from the British Museum to dinner, my hostess told me that a lady had called to see her, whose name was Mrs. Fly Smith, and said that her husband was the grandson of the Rev. Dr. Henry Fly. My surprise and interest were very great, the coincidence being so remarkable.

I wrote to Dr. Fly Smith and asked permission to call upon him to make inquiries respecting his grandfather. At once I received a most cordial invitation to Maitland Park, and a truly pleasant couple of hours were spent in inspecting all the relics the family possessed of my eminent predecessor. In the first place a miniature oil painting of Dr. Fly attracted my attention, of which I give a photograph. Then there were old Roman vases, which had been found in the churchyard, and are in an excellent state of preservation.

Next I was attracted by the sight of the Sub-dean's violins; for amongst his many accomplishments, music was by no means the least. Also I saw the printer's proof of the paper upon the History of the Church, which the Doctor read in 1802, with his corrections in pencil. Also several sermons preached on special occasions, bearing the dates 1794, 1798, and 1803. I then learnt that he held the office of confessor to the royal family, which entitled him to the privilege of residing in St. James's Palace. It seemed a little strange that such an office as that of confessor should have remained in the royal household so long after the Reformation had been carried out. The title of confessor, however, no longer exists, but is changed to that of "Chaplain at the Palace of St. James," and is at the present time combined with that of Sub-dean, which office

is held by the Rev. Edgar Sheppard, M.A., who has written a most interesting work in two volumes, entitled "*Memorials of St. James's Palace.*" In this work, which is beautifully illustrated, Mr. Sub-dean Sheppard says:—

"The confessor had formerly a small apartment in the Palace, and his duties were to attend at the early service to read prayers and to administer the Communion on the appointed occasions. He was also, as in the case of the chaplain who now represents him, bound to administer the offices of religion to any of the household who might require his services. Chamberlayne tells us that the confessor of the household was formerly one of the twelve priests who acted officially in the Palace, and whose duty it was to read prayers every morning to the family, to visit the sick, to examine and prepare communicants, to give to such as desired it advice in any case of conscience. Dr. Fly Smith tells me that he was baptised by his grandfather in the Chapel Royal, St. James."

From the "*Alumni Oxonienses*," 1715 to 1886, I find that Dr. Fly matriculated at Brasenose College 15th June, 1762, and took his B.A. degree four years afterwards. In 1773 he became an M.A. and Fellow of his college, and in 1797 obtained the title of Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Fly was, as I said, instituted as incumbent of Holy Trinity, Minories, in 1770, and was appointed to the office of seventh Minor Prebend of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1783, and on 12th November of that year he was admitted as Minor Canon. In 1784 he became eleventh Minor Prebend, and in 1797 Junior Cardinal—a title that sounds very strange to our Protestant ears, but which I will explain presently. In 1831 he was admitted as Sub-dean. Altogether, five offices in succession in St. Paul's Cathedral. Then in 1788 he was elected President of Sion College. In 1797 he became Rector of St. Augustine's and St. Faith's, London, and in 1821 Vicar of Willesden. Foster says, in the "*Alumni*," that he was also Perpetual Curate of Kingsbury-with-Twyford. He, therefore, was a pluralist indeed.

I stated just now that I would explain how it was that Dr. Fly had at one time the title of "Junior Cardinal." I had never heard of such a title amongst the officials of St. Paul's; but as the information came from the late Canon Sparrow Simpson, Librarian of the Cathedral, I felt sure it was all right, and, by the help of a friend, found in vol. xliii. of the *Archæologia*, page 165, a paper read by the Canon before the Society of Antiquaries June 2nd, 1870,* giving a full account of the Charters and Statutes of the Minor Canons in St. Paul's Cathedral, in which he says:—

"The Minor Canons, therefore, of St. Paul's Cathedral date back their origin not to the charter of Richard the Second but to the remote days of the foundation of the Cathedral itself. . . . The College of Minor Canons consists of twelve priests 'debent esse sacerdotes': of these the highest is the Sub-dean, the first of whom, Radulfo Baldok, was ordained in 1280 A.D. At one time the office was one of great dignity and authority, for it was the Sub-dean's duty to see and note what was done in the choir by all the ministers of the church and to admonish and correct offenders, the greater Canons only being exempt from his authority. Also he wore an almuce of the fur called grey which was worn by the Canons."

Next to the Sub-dean were the second and third Minor Canons, who were and are still called Cardinals—that is, "Cardinales Chori." It was their duty to observe all the faults and errors in the choir; to note those that came in too late and those who left too soon; to observe who amongst the singers were idle or negligent in their duty, and to summon defaulters before the Chapter. They had also to administer the sacraments of the Church to the sick and well, to hear confessions and bury the dead. By way of recompense for these manifold labours, they were allowed to receive whatever contributions the devout might feel inclined to give them.

The Sub-dean and the two Cardinals were and are still

* Under Catalogue desk, Reading-room.

chosen from the College of the Minor Canons by the Dean and the Dean and Chapter respectively. The Minor Canons themselves annually elect one of their body to be their Warden for the year. Other offices usually held by the Minor Canons are the Divinity Lectureship, founded and endowed by Bishop Richard de Gravesend, and further endowed by Thomas White, the munificent founder of Sion College; and that of Sacrist, whose important and multifarious occupations will be found fully detailed in Dean Milman's "Annals." The present Senior Cardinal is the Rev. William Henry Milman, M.A., Librarian of Sion College, and son of the late Dean, who told me, with a humorous smile, that he and his colleague were the only men in England who had the *legal* right to assume the title of Cardinal. Dr. Fly was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral with much honour and respect.

The successor of Dr. Fly was the Rev. William Blunt, whose monument, in Latin, is also on the north wall, of which the following is a copy :—

"M. S.

VIRI REVERENDI, GULIELMI BLUNT, A.B.

COLLEGII PEMBROCHIENSIS APUD CANTABRIGIENSES, OLIM ALUMNI,
SCHOLÆ MERCATORUM SCISSORUM APUD LONDINIENSES.

ANNOS XXVI EX MAGISTRIS,

ET HUIUS PAROCHIÆ, ANNOS XVII MINISTRI,

NAT : NON DEC^R MDCCXCIX MORT : XIII KAL. NOV.

MDCCCXLIX.

FIDE, MORIBUS, BENEVOLENTIA, JUDICIO, ORNATUS ;

CHARISSIMUS OMNIBUS PRÆSERTIM SUIS, SUIMET

AUTEM QUÆ FUIT MODESTIA MINIME PLACENS,

IN CHRISTO OBDORMIVIT, MORTUUS TAMEN LOQUITUR,

MEMORIAM PIUS PROSEQUERE,

EXEMPLUM IMITARE,

P
A X Ω "

Which may be translated thus:—

Sacred to the Memory
 of the Reverend William Blunt, A.B.
 of Pembroke College, Cambridge, formerly
 a Scholar of Merchant Taylors' School, London,
 Of which for 26 years he was one of the Masters,
 And the Minister of this Parish for 17 years.
 He was born on 5th December, 1799,
 And died 19th November, 1849.
 Distinguished for his integrity, courtesy,
 benevolence, and judgment,
 He was very dear to all, especially
 to his own family.
 But such was his modesty that he
 was very little satisfied with himself.
 He fell asleep in Christ, and though
 dead yet speaketh.
 Godly people, honour his memory,
 Imitate his example.

P
 A X Ω

There is another tablet on the north wall to a later incumbent, the Rev. Thomas Hill, who is first mentioned on a monument just above it, which, I presume, was that of his father or uncle, and is as follows:—

“SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
 THE REV^D. ISAAC HILL, A.M.,
 OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
 EDUCATED ON THE FOUNDATION OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,
 HE OBTAINED HIGH HONOUR IN HIS UNIVERSITY;
 AND WAS ELECTED ONE OF THE ASSISTANT MASTERS IN
 ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL;
 SUBSEQUENTLY HE WAS APPOINTED HIGH MASTER OF
 MERCER'S SCHOOL, LONDON;
 WHICH SITUATION HE ABLY FILLED
 FOR A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS.
 HE WAS MINISTER OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHAPEL, KINGSLAND,

AND ALSO LECTURER IN THIS CHURCH OF
 HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES.
 IN EVERY RELATION OF LIFE AS A HUSBAND AND PARENT
 HE WAS EXEMPLARY.
 HAVING LIVED RESPECTED HE DIED LAMENTED
 BY ALL WHO KNEW HIM
 ON 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1856,
 AT THE ADVANCED AGE OF EIGHTY-FOUR,
 AND WAS BURIED AT HACKNEY.
 THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED
 IN THE NAME OF HIS FAMILY BY
 REV. THOMAS HILL, A.M.,
 PERPETUAL CURATE OF
 HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES."

Underneath this inscription is the following :—

"M. S.
 OF THE ABOVE NAMED
 REV^D. THOMAS HILL, A.M.,
 OF CLARE HALL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
 WHO DIED 13TH FEBRUARY, 1865.
 ÆT. 57.
 AND WAS INTERRED AT HACKNEY.
 'THE RIGHTEOUS LIVE FOR EVERMORE; THEIR
 REWARD ALSO IS WITH THE LORD AND THE CARE
 OF THEM IS WITH THE MOST HIGH. THEREFORE
 SHALL THEY RECEIVE A GLORIOUS KINGDOM
 AND A BEAUTIFUL CROWN FROM THE LORD'S HAND;
 FOR WITH HIS RIGHT HAND SHALL HE COVER
 THEM AND WITH HIS ARM SHALL HE PROTECT
 THEM.'
 'AS BY ONE OFFERING HE HATH PERFECTED
 FOR EVER THEM THAT ARE SANCTIFIED.'"

This monument to Mr. Hill brings my little history nearly up to the present time. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Graham Green, who was incumbent for

twelve years—viz. from 1865 to 1877—and then accepted preferment to the rectory of Mavesyn, Ridware, Staffordshire, and afterwards became Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen at Kensington Palace.

After this gentleman the Rev. Edward Murray Tomlinson, M.A., my immediate predecessor, was appointed vicar, and he retained the living for twelve years, viz. from 1877 to March, 1889. During the time he was vicar Mr. Tomlinson did everything in his power for the welfare of the parish, and his benefactions to the poor will never be forgotten. There was one plan he adopted which deserves commendation. Twice a week some twenty or thirty poor women were invited by him to come to a room he hired for the purpose, to do two hours' needlework. This needlework was the making of useful things for themselves and their children, for which they were all paid sixpence each afternoon, and then they could buy any of the work for the cost of the materials only. Besides the sixpence, they all had a cup of tea, and the afternoon was closed by singing a hymn, a short address, and prayer. Two ladies assisted Mr. Tomlinson in this matter, and it was doubtless productive of much good. I believe it cost the vicar over £50 a year out of his own pocket, but having the means, he delighted to devote it to the service of God and the good of the poor.

In 1889 I had the privilege of succeeding him on his being presented to the living of East Meon by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, who appointed me to this vicarage of Holy Trinity, to which I was inducted by the late Archdeacon of London, the Venerable E. H. Gifford, D.D., assisted by the Rural Dean, the Rev. Alfred Povah, D.D., the Rev. George Davenport, and the Rev. Joseph Barnard Smith, M.A. My churchwardens, Mr. William Haines and Mr. Charles Watson, and other parish officials, were present,

with a large congregation. The Venerable Archdeacon conducted the service so well and with such earnestness and feeling that it was to all present a delightful occasion. The address also of the Rural Dean was one to be remembered. Of course the usual ceremony was gone through of my being conducted by the Archdeacon to the door, and having my hands placed upon the lock and full possession given me of the church and all that it contained. Nothing was omitted, even the withdrawal to the outside of the church of the Archdeacon and churchwardens, upon whom I shut the door until they knocked to come in. Next I mounted the belfry and rang the bell, by the help of the bell-ringer; then we all went into the church to finish the service.

I should here like to acknowledge the great kindness I have received from my honoured patron, the Lord Chancellor, for the last fifteen years, not only in reference to my church, but also in connection with my public lectures and works, particularly those relating to the scientific and historical accuracy of the Biblical narratives.

I must now say a few words about my churchwardens. Mr. William Haines, the senior, residing at Byfleet, Surrey, still remains with me, and I hope he will do so as long as I am the vicar; indeed, I do not know what I should have done without him, especially after the confiscation of the church funds, for he has most generously aided me in making up the annual deficit, and in other ways has rendered me monetary help in reference to the church.

Here I must tell a story of Mrs. Haines's goodness. It was on the occasion of a Harvest Festival, when I wrote to her to ask her to send me a few flowers to decorate the church. She replied that if I went to the church on Saturday morning I should find a basket of flowers in the vestry. So on that Saturday morning I went to see to the decorations, and to aid in putting up the promised flowers,

etc. On reaching the church I found the basket of flowers in the vestry, as promised—and something more: for on going into the church, to my astonishment, it was decorated in a most lavish and artistic manner. Flowers and fruits were in abundance everywhere, and the pulpit was quite a sight—bunches of grapes interspersed with flowers hung in festoons all over it. I rubbed my eyes to be quite sure that I was not dreaming. Of course, I did not believe in fairies, and therefore knew that some kind hands had been at work to give me a pleasing surprise.

The pocr also had not been forgotten; for in one part of the church there was a large pile of all sorts of vegetables, which were to be given away on the following Monday. Though the ladies who did all this had enjoined secrecy upon the officials, it oozed out that it was Mrs. Haines and her daughters who had done this generous thing, and had kept me away on the Friday by promising me some flowers on the Saturday. I need not say how greatly pleased and gratified we all were. Such kind and graceful acts help to make life bright and hopeful, and, under God, enable us to bear its trials and struggles. It was a most delightful Harvest Festival, and one that I shall never forget.

Mr. Charles Watson was my other churchwarden when I entered upon the vicarage, and he remained with me till 1893, when he left the neighbourhood to live in the country. I shall ever remember his kindness and courtesy, and the care and accuracy with which he kept the church accounts. On his retiring, Mr. J. F. Oates willingly undertook the duties, and continues still in office, encouraging me in my work and also most kindly aiding me with his purse in meeting the church expenses.

My sidesmen up to 1893 were Mr. George Goodes and



THE VICAR, CHURCHWARDENS, AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

Mr. Joseph Knight Pitt, both of whom I most highly respect. They really did the Sunday work of the churchwardens who live out of town. In 1892 Mr. Goodes also went to reside in the suburbs; therefore I lost his valuable services, and particularly missed the genial intercourse I had enjoyed with himself and Mrs. Goodes. Mr. Pitt, however, has remained up to the present time (March, 1898), whose kind attentions to myself I greatly appreciate. He is also much respected by the congregation; indeed, his bright and happy face is like a beam of sunshine in the church. When, therefore, he is occasionally prevented from being in his place, we miss him very much. The clergymen who sometimes come to conduct the services when I am called away to preach elsewhere say the same things of my amiable sidesman.

I have something to add about our Vestry Clerks. Mr. Richard Ellis, sen., held the office when I was instituted, and had done so for forty years previously. He was very much respected, and there was always so much good-will between us all that our Vestry meetings were like pleasant social gatherings. Mr. Ellis died in 1893, deeply regretted by all who knew him. I presided at his funeral, which was attended by a very large number of his friends and by the members of the Hackney Vestry, of which Vestry he was also the clerk.

He was succeeded by his son, Mr. Richard Sidney Ellis, who had frequently attended the Vestry meetings with his father, and we jogged along as happily as could be for a couple of years; and then Mr. Ellis, on giving up his practice as a solicitor to be called to the Bar, resigned his office of Vestry Clerk, and we elected in his place Mr. John Douglas Ross, his chief clerk, and who had for some eighteen years assisted at the meetings and had gained the confidence and respect of the whole parish.

We had been scarcely settled a year with our new Vestry Clerk, when the County Council determined to unite our parish with that of Whitechapel; and notwithstanding our earnest opposition, the thing was determined upon, and our Vestry meetings were at an end. My two excellent churchwardens, I am glad to say, still continue in their office, but have nothing now to do with the civil affairs of the parish. Our verger, Mr. George Jones, who is standing on the left in the photograph, has held that office for some twenty-four years. This he will lose on the amalgamation of the church with St. Botolph's, Aldgate; but I am glad to say that he will receive a pension for life.

In the group on page 473, Mr. William Haines, my senior churchwarden, is sitting on my right, Mr. J. F. Oates, the people's churchwarden, on my left. Mr. Charles Watson, a former churchwarden, stands on my right, and Mr. George Goodes, a former sidesman, on my left. My present sidesman, Mr. J. K. Pitt, stands by Mr. Goodes's side; Mr. Richard S. Ellis, a former Vestry Clerk, is sitting at the table on the right of Mr. Churchwarden Haines; and Mr. J. Douglas Ross, our last Vestry Clerk, next to Mr. Churchwarden Oates. I had intended to have introduced a photograph of Mr. John Bellman, our organist, and some of the choir; but the day we endeavoured to take it the church was very gloomy from a fog that had come over London, which, after many trials, rendered the group a failure. I am sorry for this, because Mr. Bellman has occupied the office for twenty years past, and has been much respected by all. It is astonishing, also, what an amount of music he gets out of the organ, which some think to be two hundred years old. Perhaps we may be more successful in a future edition.

These, then, are the few things I am able to say about the incumbents and officials. I will now give a list of the former, as promised:—

LIST OF INCUMBENTS

From 1563 to 1893.

No.	Names.	Date of Induction.	No. of Years Service.
1	Rev. William Park	1563	15
2	Rev. Robert Hearse	1578	0
3	Rev. Thomas Cobhead	1578	12
4	Rev. David Inglishe	1590	5
5	Rev. John Glass	1595	2
6	Rev. James Meadowes	1597	1
7	Rev. Thomas Smith	1598	0
8	Rev. William Park	1598	4
9	Rev. Gabriel Boulton	1602	6
10	Rev. Richard Sinnerton	1608	9
11	Rev. George Calvert	1617	2
12	Rev. Robert Johnson	1619	0
13	Rev. Robert Challacomb	1619	0
14	Rev. Jonas Stuckton	1619	2
15	Rev. Christian Sherwood	1621	12
16	Rev. John De Cerfe	1633	1
17	Rev. Timothy Bracegirdle	1634	27
18	Rev. Elkanah Downes	1661	5
19	Rev. Thomas Lunn	1666	12
20	Rev. John Weston	1678	16
21	Rev. John King	1694	26
22	Rev. John Morrice	1720	1
23	Rev. Thomas Kinnersley	1721	8
24	Rev. Robert Palmer	1729	18
25	Rev. William Petvin	1747	9
26	Rev. Thomas Newman	1756	14
27	Rev. Henry Fly	1770	64
28	Rev. William Blunt	1834	16
29	Rev. Thomas Hill	1850	15
30	Rev. Wm. Graham Green	1865	12
31	Rev. Edwd. Murray Tomlinson	1877	12
32	Rev. Samuel Kinns	1889	—

XVII.

Some of the Congregation.



THE PULPIT, HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES.

See page 448.

XXX.

Some of the Congregation.

I HAVE been relating the histories of the great, the wise, and the noble who have come into contact with my church ; now I shall have something to say about a few of the good and lowly. But first I must notice an old gentleman who attended the church regularly when in his ninetieth year. Mr. John Nicholl was born August 20th, 1804, at Kincardine-on-Forth, and came to London in 1828. After working for a large firm in Gray's Inn Road for some fifteen years, he started in business on his own account in 1843 in Upper East Smithfield, and continued to reside there till his death, May 24, 1894 ; he was, therefore, within three months of his ninetieth year when he died.

When he was turned eighty-nine, I thought it quite possible he might live for several years longer, as he was still able to walk to church ; he had, however, to discontinue doing so some seven months before he died. It gave me great delight to see the dear old man come into the church, for he was a true Christian and so entered into the services that it was most cheering to glance at his pew. I saw him a few days before he died, and found him leaning upon Christ alone for salvation. His end was peace. Mrs. Nicholl, his widow, but much his junior, still continues to attend the church, and I trust will do so as long as I remain the vicar.

Time was when Haydon Sqaure, at the back of the

church, was inhabited by well-to-do people, and it seems to have had a fountain in the centre, with trees and flowers surrounding it; but now not a tree or even a blade of grass is to be seen. The engine-house of the London and North Western Railway occupies the whole of this centre; and instead of the fountain throwing up its beautifully clear water sparkling in the sun, a tall chimney belches forth dark smoke continuously. On the west side, where there were some good dwelling houses, there are now only tall, gloomy-looking warehouses. On the east, however, the houses still remain; but, alas! they have fallen from their high estate, and are occupied by very poor people, from the topmost floors to the basements—each room, as a rule, containing a separate family. Of the exceptions I will say a few words.

At No. 8, the three rooms on the ground floor were for some years occupied by William Mercer, with his wife and daughter. He was engaged on the London and North Western Railway, but he had his Sundays free, which enabled him to attend this church, which he and his wife and daughter did regularly both in the morning and evening, and were always present at the Holy Communion. I also found that they were sincere Christians; it therefore gave me not a little pleasure frequently to call and see them. Well, it pleased God to lay upon the man an affliction which confined him to his house for some months. It was a great trial to him that he was incapacitated from earning a living for his wife and daughter; nevertheless he was very patient, and so were they. I think that during his health he had subscribed to a club; and some other little things also helping them, they were not in want, and had comforts around them. The attack was a severe one of asthma, which generally lasts a long time before it becomes fatal. Though I visited him very frequently, I was not with him when he died, but his widow told me his last words were,

“Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth.” And so this good Christian man passed away, not only cheerfully submitting to God’s will, but even acknowledging that his long affliction was sent him in love, and for a wise purpose.

At the funeral, before proceeding to the cemetery, we had the coffin taken into the church, and not a few of the neighbours came in to show their respect for him who had set them so good an example. Though Mrs. Mercer sorrowed deeply for her husband, she set to work at once to earn a living; so, having hired the whole of the house, she took in lodgers, and thus was able to keep her home together. There is sometimes a little romance even in humble life. One of these lodgers, Mr. Shaffers, a respectable young man, who also attended the church constantly, became engaged to Mrs. Mercer’s daughter. After a time I was asked to publish the banns for their marriage. It so happened that my predecessor, the Rev. E. M. Tomlinson, had also taken much interest in this family; he therefore came up from the country to take a part in the ceremony, and again the church was filled with the neighbours. It was indeed a very nice wedding; not only had these young people two clergymen to marry them, but the organist and some of the choir came to render the service a musical one, which finished with the “Wedding March.” As they have gone to live in a little cottage outside London I miss them from the services, but I shall ever remember them with feelings of esteem. My good sidesman, Mr. J. K. Pitt, went with me one day to Croydon to see them, and it was a truly pleasant afternoon. I was delighted with all I saw of their nicely furnished cottage home.

The next interesting case is that of Albert Alexander Corston, who likewise attended the church very regularly and married a very nice girl, Anne Ethel Holcroft, who was also in my choir; they lived very happily for some little

time, and had a pretty little daughter, whom I baptised and took much interest in. It was God's will, however, to lay this young man also upon a bed of prolonged sickness, and for some time he could not see his Heavenly Father's hand in his affliction; indeed, he almost rebelled because he could not earn a livelihood for his wife and child. I did my best to comfort him and to call forth in his mind feelings of faith and hope, but I seemed to be unsuccessful, so dark was the cloud that hung over his spirit. At last it cleared away, and just before he died he turned to his wife and said, "St. Peter said to Christ, 'Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee,' so say I, 'O Lord Jesus, Thou knowest that I love Thee.'" Then he repeated a verse or two of the hymn:

"Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me,"

and breathed his last.

Another case I should like to relate which was of great interest to me, it being that of a poor widow who attended the church, but lived just outside the parish. Her name was Mary Wright, and her husband had died some years previously to my becoming acquainted with her, leaving her with eight children, all of them young. He was, when living, a commercial traveller, and able to keep his family in comparative comfort; but when he died there were no means left for their future support. Sad as her case was, Mrs. Wright did not give way to despair, but obtained an appointment, for which she received only ten shillings a week. Upon this ten shillings, however, she brought up her family; how she did it is difficult to conceive, but they all turned out well, as I shall presently notice. A more respectable family in such humble life I never met with, and attribute it all to the simple piety of

this poor widow. She loved her Bible, and taught her children to love it also. They were sent to a National school in the neighbourhood, and so well did they make use of their opportunities that they were quite able to hold their own even amongst those who had had far greater advantages. Mrs. Wright lived to see all her children grown up and in situations, and then it was God's will to call her away. I frequently visited her during her last illness, and was struck by her calm and peaceful faith in Christ. A few days before she died as many of the family as could assembled in her bedroom to participate with her in the Holy Communion. Though a solemn occasion, it was also one of happiness and peace, for we all felt sure that the dying Christian woman would soon be with her Saviour in His Heavenly Kingdom. I did not see her again alive; but on hearing of her death I proposed to the family that, at the funeral, the coffin should be brought into the church. This called forth a note from one of the daughters, in which she thanked me in the most refined manner, and said that it would have gratified her mother very much if she had known before her death that such an honour would have been paid her. I think the whole of the eight sons and daughters were at the funeral, which was conducted at their expense, consisting of a hearse and two mourning coaches. When I noticed the respectability of these sons and daughters, and thought of their being brought up by a mother earning only ten shillings a week, I felt it so true that "a little that the righteous man hath is better than the riches of many wicked."

To the sacramental service of which I have spoken another widow living in the same house had been invited, whose husband had attended Holy Trinity. On his death-bed he looked up at me with a beaming smile and

said, "I feel my soul is safe through Christ, my Saviour," or words to that effect. When he had passed away, this good woman said to me, "To part with my husband is a great sorrow, and I shall have some difficulty in earning a living without him; but I consider this trial as a mere trifle compared with the joy I feel at being assured that he is now in Heaven; indeed, I could almost imagine that I saw him pass through the glorious gates." Such simple piety as this touched my heart, and I thanked God for the privilege of hearing such expressions from the lowly and godly poor.

I must tell the story of another widow, Mrs. Galsworthy, who still lives in the parish, and who, with her husband, had attended church constantly. He suddenly fell down dead when at his post, and she was left with two daughters and two sons. One daughter was in my choir, of whom I shall speak presently, and the elder son was engaged on the London and North Western Railway. I stated her case to Mr. Grassman, one of the managers, who promised to do all he could for her, and a short time afterwards I heard that her son's wages had been raised and she was appointed to take charge of some offices. I also found that the company were going to allow her to reside in the same rooms as when her husband was alive.

So far things were going on well, when one morning I heard on reaching the church that her eldest daughter had fallen from a window 19 feet from the ground on to a stone pavement below. I went round, and found that she was not dead, but had been taken to the hospital seriously hurt. On going to the hospital I found that she had broken one arm, dislocated her ankle, injured her face, and shaken her whole system, but was in no immediate danger. Soon after, on calling again, I found her rapidly recovering, and then I asked one of the nurses whether she did not

think her preservation almost miraculous; she said certainly it was, and I felt with her that it was a case in which the angels had received a charge to hold her up in that dreadful fall. In a few weeks she was able to leave the hospital, and is now quite well. As the house belonged to the company, and as she was standing on some iron trellis-work which gave way with her when she was cleaning her bedroom window, I appealed again to Mr. Grassman, who referred me to Mr. Castleman, and hoped the company would make her some compensation; for the ironwork she stood upon was rusty and unsafe. Most generously the Board of Directors voted her thirty pounds. Of the kindness of the company towards this family I cannot speak too highly, and I have partly introduced the story that I may say so.

There is also a little further romance in this story, for I had the pleasure two years since to unite her in marriage to a young man who also had attended the church constantly, and again we had a musical service. As the young people have not gone far away, Mrs. Horner will, I trust, sometimes still sing in my choir.

There are, besides, one or two more of my parishioners of whom I wish to speak, and must not omit to give a short account of Mr. Peter Black and his wife, who lived for some time in two rooms on the top floor of a house opposite to the church. He is a tailor by trade, and an industrious man. On this same floor there was living a very poor widow, Mrs. Sarah Hayes, who had four children—two sons and two daughters. The eldest son went into the army, and the younger, quite a little boy, was in a Board school; the elder daughter was about sixteen, and the younger one about twelve. So little did the mother earn, that oftentimes the family were without food; nevertheless she sent the children to church.

Well, this poor woman died, and left the children without the slightest means of obtaining a livelihood. Mr. Black and his wife agreed together that they would adopt the elder girl and younger boy, rather than they should be thrown upon the hard world as penniless orphans. Knowing how poor these good people were, I did so admire this act of goodness, and felt sure God's blessing would rest upon them. I was one day saying to Mrs. Black that I was sure God would bless her and her husband for their kindness to these orphans, and she replied with some earnestness, "I am sure He will, and He is doing so"; adding, "We have agreed that as long as we have a loaf they shall have a share." Thus faith and works were combined in these good people. The youngest girl Hayes is a dwarf, but very intelligent, and has been taken care of by a gentleman living in the country.

One of the most disheartening things in a parish like mine is the utter apathy that exists amongst many of the very poor in reference to religious matters. There were two old men living in a garret: one was unable to work, and the other earned but very little, so that they frequently wanted the necessities of life. Week after week, month after month, and year after year, I called upon them and urged on them to attend God's house, which peradventure might lead to their receiving temporal as well as spiritual blessings. One day the older man used a very bad word, which so shocked me that I left them at once, but offered up for them earnest prayer that night, and for days afterwards. The following week I called again, and to my surprise found them both very sorry about the wicked word; so I said to them, "If you will not come to the church, shall I bring the church to you, and read you a portion of God's Word?" They both assented, and I chose St. John's account of the Crucifixion of our

Lord, and then offered a short prayer, followed by the Lord's Prayer. On rising from our knees I noticed a tear on the cheek of one of them, which cheered me not a little, for I trusted that the Holy Spirit was working in his soul. The next week we had a similar little service, and again I saw the tear. When I called again, the elder man was gone to the infirmary, and the other was going downstairs. I asked him to come back to his room to hear me read to him again, which he did. That evening he fell down dead, which was a sad shock to me and to those who knew him. But I like to think of that tear as indicating a softening of his heart; for it had been occasioned by his hearing of the sufferings of Christ for his salvation. It may be that that sudden death was to take him away from all temptation after the good work had commenced in his soul.

There is still another family that I must mention—Mr. Henry E. A. Taylor, an Ex-City Policeman, who lives close to the church, and with his wife and family are constant attendants at all the services. He has come whenever he has been off duty; and Mrs. Taylor and her daughter, who is in the choir, are seldom absent: when they are I miss them at once. The two boys are in situations, but generally attend the church. When, on Sunday afternoons, Mrs. Taylor has friends come to see her, she does not allow them to keep her from the evening service, as many others do, but after giving them a good tea, she says, "Now I am going to church, and shall be very pleased if you will accompany me; but if you cannot, we must say good-bye." Hence it happens that her pew is often full of her friends. Thus she sets them and all her neighbours a good example. A more truly happy family I do not know, and it is religion that makes them so. Those of my readers who have got "Graven in the Rock" will find in the list of subscribers

this name, Mr. Henry E. Aplin Taylor (City Policeman), and I am proud to have it there.

I must tell another little story of Mr. Taylor, and will do so by quoting verbatim a paragraph that appeared in the *City Press* January 19, 1898:—

“PRESENTATION TO AN EX-CONSTABLE.

“An interesting presentation took place on Friday at the Eastcheap Restaurant (the old Cow and Calf), Ex-Police-constable Henry Taylor, who has just retired from the City Police force after twenty-five years’ service, being presented by the carmen of Botolph Lane with a testimonial to show their appreciation of the kind manner in which he had carried out his duty in supervising the traffic in that busy thoroughfare. The gift took the form of a handsome walking-stick of snakewood, the inscription on a chased silver band being as follows: ‘Presented to H. Taylor by the carmen of Botolph Lane, 1898’; a silk umbrella for Mrs. Taylor, and a pipe. Ex-Police-constable Taylor was accompanied by Ex-Police-sergeant Young and Ex-Police-constable Edward Judd. Mr. J. Livermore made the presentation in suitable terms. Mr. Taylor thanked them all for the handsome presents, and said that he had never expected such a testimonial from the men over whom he had to exercise a certain amount of control in carrying out his duty as a police officer. He could, however, say that he had always tried to carry out his duty conscientiously and in a straightforward manner. For the carmen he had the greatest sympathy, because he felt that their duties were arduous, and had to be performed, like the policeman’s, in all sorts of weather, by day and by night. He felt extremely proud that they had so honoured him, and he would always have a warm corner in his heart for his old friends, with whom he had certainly worked very harmoniously. In conclusion, he specially thanked Mr. Livermore and Mr. Isaacs, who had organised the presentation. Ex-Police-sergeant Young also said a few words, remarking that he did not remember another such compliment being paid during the whole twenty-five years he had been in the police.”

Further honours fell to the lot of Mr. Taylor, for I find in the *Police Review* of the 11th March, 1898, the following paragraph:—

“LONDON.—*City Force*.—A presentation took place at the ‘Tiger’ on Friday evening, the 4th inst., to ex-P.C. 799 H. E. A. Taylor, upon

his retirement from the Force after twenty-five years' service. The chair was occupied by Mr. Chief-Inspector Izzard, who was supported by District-Inspector Hook, Sergeants Moody and Eagle, and a number of Constables, and many ex-Sergeants and Constables. The testimonial took the form of a handsome marble clock, for the retired Officer, and a gold ring for Mrs. Taylor. The Chairman, in making the presentation, referred, in a few complimentary remarks, to the faithful manner in which Mr. Taylor had at all times fulfilled his duties, and wished him many years of health and happiness to enjoy his well-earned pension. The clock bore the following inscription : ' Presented to ex-P.C. H. E. A. Taylor as a mark of respect by the Officers and men and a few friends of the 5th Division, City of London Police, on his retirement after 25 years' service, January 12th, 1898.' Mr. Taylor briefly responded in a few appropriate words. During the evening several toasts were honoured and songs and instrumental selections ably rendered."

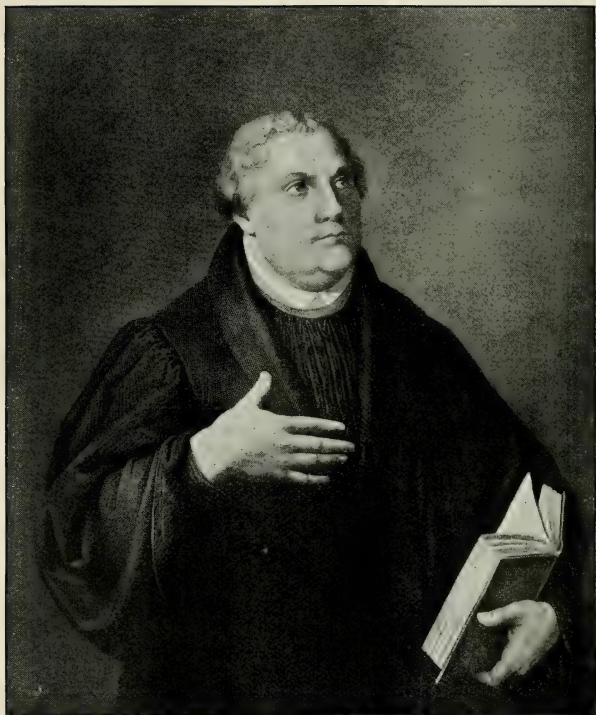
Why I have given these accounts in full is, that I may record God's blessing upon this good man and his family in consequence, I believe, of their attendance at His House and for their observance of the Sabbath. I have seen in my parish and in others, men and women in similar positions of life who never attend a place of worship, and who live in utter neglect of religion ; and I have noticed that their homes are, as a rule, wretched ones and they themselves miserable. Worldly as well as spiritual blessings are promised so explicitly in the Bible for the observance of the Sabbath, that it is really quite surprising so many people have apparently entirely missed seeing these promises. I will venture, therefore, to end this chapter by quoting some of them as given in Isaiah lviii. 13, 14 :—

" If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on My holy day ; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable ; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words : Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord ; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father : for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

England has hitherto observed the Sabbath more than any other nation, and God has fulfilled to it the special promise here given : by causing it to ride upon the high places of the earth. And England's Queen has throughout her glorious reign set her people a noble example in this respect ; therefore has God honoured her more than any monarch that has ever sat upon the British throne.

LONG LIVE THE QUEEN ! ! !

Appendix.



MARTIN LUTHER.

Appendix.



NOTE 1.

LUTHER'S PORTRAIT.

WHEN seeking for a good portrait of Luther, I asked the advice of several of the officials of the British Museum, and the one given on page 105 was thought by Dr. Richard Garnett, C.B., to be the best ; and therefore I had great pleasure in choosing it. Several of my friends, however, very much liked the portrait that had lately hung up in the drawing room of the late Mr. Nathaniel Trübner, the eminent German publisher ; I have therefore added a copy of it as a frontispiece to this Appendix.

NOTE 2.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE ABBEY.

Having promised on page 22 that I would continue in the Appendix the account of the various benefactions and privileges granted to the Abbey and the Nuns, I will now do so.

During the reign of Edward III. there were : First, a pension of forty marks a year granted them by John, the son of Sir Robert de Thorpe, and another pension of twenty marks by Robert de Marham. Secondly, in 1341, a messuage, with a piece of arable land and five acres of pasture in the parish, were given them by three gentlemen, styled in the King's licence chaplains, and their names were John Whythorne, John de Brysingham, and William de Ridlington. This property seems to have been in the parish of Aldgate, but it was held in perpetuity of the Manor of Cheshunt.

Five years afterwards, in 1346, the Queen Dowager Isabella, mother to the King, gave them the advowsons of the churches of Kessingland and Framsdon, in the county of Suffolk, and of

Walton-upon-Trent, in the county of Derby, which advowsons she obtained from Sir Robert de Mohaut, Kt., to be appropriated to the Sorores Minores and their successors for ever to pray for the soul of the late King. It seems, however, that the Earl of Salisbury, William de Montague, had some title to these advowsons; for he executed a deed in 1359 in favour of the Abbess and Convent of Minorite Nuns without Aldgate, in which he renounced for himself and his heirs all right and title to the perpetual advowsons of the church of Kessingland, given them by the most excellent and most noble lady, Isabella, formerly Queen of England. This living is now in the gift of the Bishop of Norwich, and has an income of about £400 a year.

Fourthly, in 1347, John de Pulteney assigned to them and their successors two messuages, one garden, thirteen shops, and a rent-charge upon some other property.

Fifthly, in the thirty-ninth year of King Edward III. there occurs a licence from the King to the Prior and Convent of Shuldhham, in Norfolk, to give and grant to the said Abbess and Sisters a certain annual rent of ten marks for ever, upon condition that, if such rent should be punctually paid on the Feast of St. John the Baptist out of certain tenements in London, then the said Priory should be exonerated and discharged.

The sixth gift to this Abbey during this reign was bestowed in Edward's forty-ninth year, the deed being a licence from the King, which, after reciting that he had, at the request of the late Queen-mother Isabella and of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, both deceased, allowed the aforesaid Abbess and nuns to acquire lands or rents to the amount of £30 per annum: empowers Richard Hall, chaplain, and Symon Hendymon to assign to them and their successors for ever two messuages and twenty acres of land, with the appurtenances, in Hertendon, and to give moreover to the said Richard four acres of arable and half an acre of meadow land in the same town. In this grant only lands and messuages are given; but Newcourt, in his "*Hist. Minorum*," says this house was endowed with the possession of the church of Hertingdon and all its revenues, which was an advowson belonging to the gift of their founder, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

When Richard II. came to the throne he confirmed the privileges and exemptions granted to the Abbey in the previous

reigns, and the following are the benefactions during his reign :—

First, by a deed in the third year of his reign, he grants permission for them to become possessed of a tenement in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and a rent-charge issuing out of a tenement in Walbrook.

Secondly, in the fifteenth year of his reign we find he grants a licence to John Pomfret, citizen and sadler, Roger Wyngeworth, and Edmund Bye, citizen and stock-fishmonger of London, feoffees of a moiety of one messuage and wharf, and a rent-charge of eleven shillings and sixpence with the appurtenances, to give, with the consent of a certain Alice Anticroft, the premises to the Abbess and convent aforesaid.

Thirdly, in the eighteenth year of his reign we find the King requiring the Alien Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, to give up the advowson and appropriation of Potton, in the diocese of Lincoln, to them and their successors for ever. The present value of this living is £461 per annum, and is in the gift of the Crown.

Fourthly, in the twenty-first year of this King Richard's reign Nicholas Walsh, citizen and clothier of London, gave them, in remainder after the death of Christina, relict of John Bythewode, Sen., citizen and timber merchant of London, one messuage and three shops, with the appurtenances, in the village of St. Mary de Matfelon (now Whitechapel), in the county of Middlesex, to celebrate masses in the parish church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, on the anniversaries of their deaths, every year for the repose of his soul and that of the said Christina.

We now come to the reign of Henry IV., when we find the King granting two special privileges to the Abbess and nuns.

First, that they should have the custody of the manor called the Alien Priory of Appuldercombe, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold the said manor during the war between this country and France, and also a licence to the Abbot and monks of Montesburgh, in Normandy, to give and grant to the said Abbess and nuns the manor aforesaid.

Secondly, in the following year the King confirmed, as usual, by *inspeximus*, the grants of the preceding reign, and adding, as a perpetual privilege, that no judge, mayor, sheriff, bailiff, coroner, escheator, constable, or other officer should exercise, or

cause to be exercised, any jurisdiction, as by summons, distraint, or arrest, within the close or precinct of the aforesaid Abbey, except in cases of treason and felonies touching his Majesty's crown.

Henry V. upon his accession, confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors, and in the ninth year of his reign authorised, by licence, the venerable fathers Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Ralph, Earl of Westminster, and others, or their heirs, to pay the Abbess and nuns of the said house an annual rent of twenty-six marks issuing out of the manor of Wethersfield, held of the King *in capite*, by equal portions, at the four principal quarter-days, during the lifetime of the said Abbess Isabella of Gloucester.

On Henry VI. ascending the throne, he also confirmed their privileges in a still more special manner, for, instead of speaking in the first person, or of himself and Council, he concludes with these words: "These letters of our said father respecting the continuance of their liberties and exemptions we accept, approve, ratify, and confirm, by the advice and with the consent of the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* and of the *Commons* of our realm in our Parliament held at Westminster in the first year of our reign."

Twenty-two years afterwards the King granted them in perpetuity the rents, profits, and emoluments of the Priory of Appuldercombe, of which Henry IV. had granted them only the custody during the war between England and France.

I mentioned, in Richard II.'s reign, that a messuage and three shops at Whitechapel, settled by Nicholas Walsh upon Christina Bythewode for her lifetime, were afterwards to become the property of the Abbess and nuns. This happened in the sixth year of Edward IV. But, in consideration of this gift, they were to commemorate the deaths of these persons every year, on their respective anniversaries, with a mass or *requiem* in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate; and on the same day with thirty masses in the house belonging to the Augustine Friars in London for the souls of the said John and Christina for ever.

There is a deed, dated the twentieth year of Edward IV., 1481, in which it is stated that the King, for the reverence he

bore to the most blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ, and to St. Clara, the virgin to whose honour a monastery or abbey of minoresses had been founded without Aldgate, grants licence to Richard Humphrey to give Johanna Barton, Abbess, and to the nuns of the said Abbey, one messuage and three shops, with their appurtenances, in the parish and town of St. Mary de Matfelon (Whitechapel). This gift was for prayers for the souls of the said Richard and Marian his wife, and for the souls of their parents and of all their benefactors.

NOTE 3.

BISHOP BARLOW'S RECANTATION.

I referred to Bishop Barlow's recantation from Protestantism on page 194, and there I have stated that he sent a full confession of his faults in a letter to the King. This autograph letter we have in the British Museum, but I could not at first find it, because the pages of the volume it is bound up in have been renumbered, but the former numbers remain crossed through with pencil, so I will give them both:—MS. Cott. Cleop. E iv., fol. formerly 121, now 146.

Neither the dedication nor the date are on the letter, but someone later on has endorsed it 1533. The words are as follows:—"Prayse be to God, who of hys infinite goodnes and mercye inestimable hath brought me owt of dareknes into lyght, and from deadly ignoraunce into the quicke knowlege of trothe, from the which through the fendes instygacyon and fals perswasiones I have greatly swerved, wrappynge myselfe in many-folde erroures and detestable heresydes against the doctryne of Chryst and determynacyon of holy churche in so moche that I have made certayne bookes, and have suffred theym to be empynted, as the Treatyse of the Buryall of the Masse, a Dyaloge betwene the Gentyllman and Husbandman, the Clymbynge up of Fryers and Religious Persones portred with fygures, A descripcion of Godes worde compared to the lyght; also a conviecyous dyaloge withowt any tytle, inveynge specyally against Saynt Thomas of Canterbury, which as yet was never prynted nor publysshed openly. In this treatyses I perceyve and acknowledge my selfe greuously to have erred, namely, against

the blessed sacrament of the altare dysalowynge the masse and denyenge purgatorye with slawnderous infamy of the pope and my lorde cardynall, and owtragious rayling agaynst the clergie which I have forsaken and utterly renounced. Wherefore I beyng lately informed of your hyghnes endued with so excellent learnynge and syngler judgement of the trothe, which you have endeavored not onely to chace awaye and extyrpe all heresy es but also to see a reformacyone of slawnderous lyvyng, for the restraynte of vyce in all estates, to the furtheraunce of vertue and avauncement of Gode's Worde; also considerynge the pyteous favour voyde of rygour, and mercye abhorrynge cruelte whiche your highnes hath used towarde other of your subgettes fallen into soche lyke heresy es, as have submytted theym selves humbly unto your grace; I have made sute by all meanes possyble freely withowt mocyon of any man to come and present my selfe afore your highnes' fet, to submytt my selfe unto your mercyfull pleasure besechynge your gracyous pardone. Also as ferre forthe as I have knowlege in all thinges to acertayne your grace unfaynedly whatsoever your highness shall vouchsave to demande of me your unworthye subgett and oratour.—WILLIAM BARLO."

Notwithstanding the strong expressions of regret in this letter, Barlow returned to his former convictions, and preached against the practices of the Romish Church as idolatrous, as I have shown in his history.

NOTE 4.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE.

I have on page 217 given Coverdale's dedication of his Bible to Henry VIII., when it was first published in 1535. The following is his dedication in 1550 to Edward VI:—

"✠ Unto the moost victorious Prince & our moost gracious soueraigne Lorde kynge Edward the syxte king of Englonde Fraunce, and of Irlonde &c. Defendour of the Fayth and under God the chefe and supreme heade of the Church of Englonde.

"¶ The riyghte & iust administracyon of the lawes that God gave unto Moses and unto Josua: the testimonye of faythfulnesse y^e God gaue of Davi: the plenteous abundaunce of wysdome that

God gaue unto Salomon: the lucky and prosperous age with the multiplacyon of seede whiche God gaue unto Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be geuen unto you moost gracious Prynce."

NOTE 5.

LADY PRITCHARD'S WILL.

The following is a copy of some of the extracts from Lady Pritchard's will that are in our Vestry :—

“THE LADY PRITCHARD’S CHARITY TO THE PARISH OF THE
MINORIES IN LONDON.

“Dame Sarah Pritchard late deceased pious relict of the Right Worshipful Sir William Pritchard Knight Alderman and in the year 1683 Lord Mayor of the Honorable City of London, was pleased by her last Will and Testament bearing date 26 day of April 1707. Amongst divers and other benefactions of a public nature to make the following provision for poor widows and maids Inhabitants in the said parish which charitable bequest with what relates to the same is thus expressed viz. Whereas I am now possessed of the sum of £800 in the present credit of the chamber of the City of London, commonly called the ‘Orphans’ Fund or Stock’ which at the rate of £4 per cent. per annum doth yearly produce the sum of £32. Also my further will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that the sum of £2 10s. 0d. shall at Christmas yearly *for ever* be paid out of the yearly sum of £32 to and amongst such poor widows and maids equally inhabitants of the parish of the Minories in London where I now dwell; as the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being of that parish shall direct and appoint.”

NOTE 6.

DAVID LINDSEY’S WILL.

“EXTRACT OF THE TESTAMENT OR LAST WILL of Dav: Lindsey late of New Armitage Street in the Parish of St. George in the East in the County of Middlesex Wine Merchant relating to a legacy or gift of Charity to the parish of Holy Trinity in the Minories bearing date 26 February 1763 :—

“Item I give and bequeath unto the said David Fotheringham

and Richard Smith their executors and administrators the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds upon trust that they or the survivor of them his executors and administrators do and shall within three months after my decease lay out and invest the same in Government securities in the name of my said executors and the Minister and Churchwardens of the parish of the little Trinity Minories.* And that they my Trustees and the survivor of them his executors and administrators do and shall yearly and every year lay out the interest dividend and yearly procedure of the said one hundred and fifty pounds in buying bread which I direct shall be distributed yearly on every Christmas day between morning and afternoon service to the poor of the said parish of the Little Trinity Minories *for ever*. And in order to preserve and keep the said trust and my intention therein on foot—I do hereby direct that the said stock so to be purchased shall be transferred by my said trustees and the Minister and Churchwardens into whose name it shall be transferred, and into the name of every succeeding Minister and Churchwardens so that the same may always continue in the name of the Minister and Churchwardens of the said parish for the time being, and of my said two trustees or the survivor of them and the executors and administrators of such survivor *for ever*; for the said ends and purposes herein before directed.”

“N.B.—On the 14th day of March 1764 the above named David Fotheringham and Richard Smith did make a transfer of one hundred and sixty pounds five shillings and ninepence the produce of the above mentioned one hundred and fifty pounds in three per cent. consolidated annuities in the names of the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being.”

THE REV. THOMAS NEWMAN, *Minister*.

ROBT. HERNE
ISAAC FOX

} *Churchwardens*.

Tho^s Herne,† scrip. hoc anno ætatis suæ 10.

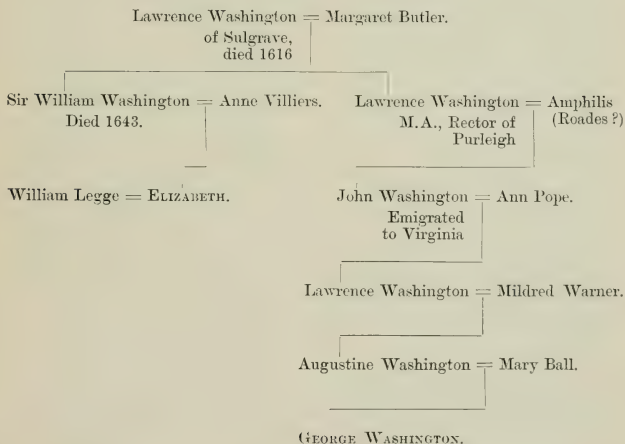
* I have not found it called “Little Trinity Minories” in other MS. or printed works.

† This boy, though only ten years old, was a beautiful writer, the MS. being a fine piece of penmanship.

NOTE 7.

Pedigree

SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ELIZABETH LEGGE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.



By this it will be seen that George Washington and Elizabeth Legge were first cousins three times removed; and, therefore, as I have stated on page 305, Elizabeth's uncle, Lawrence Washington, was the great-great-grandfather of the Founder of the American Republic.

Mr. J. Challenor Smith kindly sent me the above pedigree, and though it arrived after I had sent this work to press, I decided to place it in the Appendix, for it shows clearly the relationship of the two.

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BY REV. SAMUEL KINNS, PH.D., F.R.A.S., &c.,

Vicar of Holy Trinity, Minorities; Author of "Moses and Geology," &c.

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Fig. 34.—GOLD NECKLACE OF AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS IN THE TIME OF JOSEPH.

Letters and Extracts from Reviews.

Copy of Letter from the late Sir AUSTEN H. LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

"I, QUEEN ANNE STREET, W.

"July 18, 1891.

"DEAR DR. KINNS,

"I have again read with much attention the Assyrian portion of your 'Graven in the Rock,' and I find it singularly accurate in the descriptive parts, and in its references to my discoveries.

"You have conferred a very great service upon all Biblical Students—whether engaged in the study of the Bible for religious or archæological purposes—by the admirable manner in which you have availed yourself of the Assyrian monuments for the purpose of illustrating the sacred volume, and I am not surprised that the success which the first and second editions of your Work have achieved should have induced you to undertake a third.

"I enclose a note of one or two trifling matters, which I venture to suggest.

"I am greatly obliged to you for so kindly sending me your Work, entitled 'Moses and Geology,' which I shall value as your gift.

"Believe me, yours very truly,

"A. H. LAYARD."

** * As some of the following short extracts are from Reviews occupying one or more columns, the dates are given that our readers may be able to refer to the full original articles.*

From "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH," May 7, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock,' by the Rev. Dr. Kinns, is an elaborate defence of the historical accuracy of the Bible, which the author seeks to establish upon the evidence of inscriptions on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. It is a companion book to 'Moses and Geology' by the same hand, published some years ago, but deals more comprehensively with Scriptural history—that is to say, from the Noachian Deluge, to which Assyrian tablets bear witness, to the reign of Darius the Mede. Several entertaining chapters, however, are devoted to the achievements of the great Hebrew law-giver, in the narrative of whose life and times much hieroglyphic lore has been judiciously utilised. Biographical sketches of Solomon, Sardanapalus, Ahab, Sennacherib, Belshazzar, and other potentates of antiquity who may be termed the royal heroes of Biblical romance, will also be found in this interesting work, which is ably and profusely illustrated throughout. The discoveries of Belzoni, Rawlinson, Layard, and other eminent Assyrian and Egyptian explorers, are also recounted with graphic simplicity. There is much instruction, as well as amusement, to be derived from Dr. Kinns' scholarly compilation, which will probably achieve as large a meed of popularity as its predecessor, 'Moses and Geology.'"

From "THE MORNING POST," May 6, 1891.

"It is with the rock inscriptions and pictorial representations of Mesopotamia and Egypt brought to light by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir A. H. Layard, and their predecessors and successors in the work of excavation and decipherment, that Dr. Kinns is chiefly concerned in his new book, which is the result of several years of close study among the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments in the British Museum. One of the first of the inscriptions with which he deals is that on the great Behistun Rock, which was copied by Colonel (now General Sir Henry) Rawlinson under circumstances which make it a wonder that he was not killed in the performance of the task, and which are for the first time fully detailed in these pages from the narrative of Sir Henry himself. . . . The civilisation of the Assyrians and Egyptians, as revealed by their monuments and other remains, are described in considerable detail; and as a popular account of these most interesting subjects the book has a value quite apart from its special object. . . . The book is admirably illustrated; indeed, it may fairly be described as one of the best illustrated works, as to the excellence, number, variety, and appropriate character of the engravings, that could be desired. . . . Scores of the most remarkable sculptures are rendered with a fidelity that could not well be surpassed, and the portraits of eminent Orientalists are very properly included. Altogether, Dr. Kinns has produced a work that exhibits much patient inquiry in a wide field of research, and which will enable readers to understand many allusions in the Bible that have hitherto been obscured simply by the want of such knowledge as is here provided."

From "THE GLOBE," April 27, 1891.

" . . . In the book before us—'Graven in the Rock,' a handsome volume of over 700 pages—the Doctor lays before his readers the results of three years' special study of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments and sculptures, principally of those in the British Museum, where, during the past two years, Dr. Kinns has spent some five or six hours daily, making researches in the galleries and library. These researches have convinced him more strongly than ever of the historical accuracy of the Bible, and it is to that subject, in its broadest form, that he devotes 'Graven in the Rock,' which consequently forms a worthy companion to 'Moses and Geology,' and is likely to secure similar, if not even greater, popularity among the thoughtful classes. . . . Dr. Kinns writes a clear and pleasant style, and his treatment of familiar things has a freshness which imparts particular attractiveness to his work. Much assistance also is given to the reader by the very many illustrations, numbering 171, with which the book is endowed. A large proportion of these represent objects which can be seen at the British Museum, and which

therefore should have special interest for dwellers in or visitors to London. 'Graven in the Rock' might indeed almost be described as a literary guide to the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments possessed by the nation. It reflects great credit on the industry and acumen of the writer."

From "THE MORNING ADVERTISER," July 7, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock.' By the Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D. In this volume the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Minorities, . . . has devoted himself to the task of establishing the Divine origin of the Bible, and his elaborate essay bears evidence in many pages that it was in truth a labour of love and the outcome of a missionary spirit. The literary plan adopted by Dr. Kinns exhibits sound judgment. He recapitulates certain Biblical narrations with comments upon the text, accompanied by such revisions as he deems advisable, as well as by quotations from those Egyptian and Assyrian monuments which demonstrate conclusively to the orthodox intelligence the historical, and by consequence the doctrinal, authenticity of the Scriptures. Such a study, however important, might easily be very dry, but it must be said that Dr. Kinns has successfully eliminated this undesirable quality from his treatment of the theme. By the copious employment of short biographies, anecdotes in variety, and illustrations from divers branches of science, he relieves the heaviness of solemn reasonings, and not seldom contrives to give to the hard and somewhat arid issues of the most threadbare of all controversies the attractive colouring of romance. . . . Unquestionably Dr. Kinns has given us a most readable and instructive contribution to the great religious polemic in this splendid volume, which is produced in a style worthy of the eminent firm of Cassell & Co. The thirty ample chapters, each a treatise in itself, which compose the book, are illustrated by a selection of 171 engravings, full-page or otherwise, and all marked by the highest degree of artistic excellence."

From "THE GUARDIAN," July 22, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock.' By Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D. . . . In a previous volume, 'Moses and Geology,' he undertook to show that the description of creation in Genesis is scientifically exact; and in the book before us he follows up the same thought in regard to the records of history. In doing this he has rendered a great service to the controversy by exhibiting one side of it at its very best. Nothing can exceed the industry with which he has laboured in the collection of materials for his argument. . . . Dr. Kinns writes in a clear, descriptive style, and he tells at some length and extremely well the narrative of the decipherment of the cuneiform characters on the Behistun Rock by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and of the Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone by Champollion. There is, too, a good chapter on the Hittites, bringing together the fragmentary knowledge which is all that we have at present of that mysterious empire. Dr. Kinns follows out also in very full detail the histories of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian kings who come into contact with the Hebrew annals. . . . He has written a book which gives in an easy form a great deal of information on this early period of history, which is probably unknown to many readers; and he has made it more useful as well as more attractive by a large number of illustrations. In these he has adopted a very convenient plan. Many of these illustrations are photographs or copies from objects in the British Museum. To these he has always appended the number for the particular gallery in which they will be found, or—if they have been taken second-hand—the name of the author from whose work they have been copied. By this assistance the reader, if he pleases, will be able to satisfy himself of the reality of Dr. Kinns's arguments by studying the very objects on which they are founded. The inducement thus offered to linger with intelligent purpose in the Assyrian and Egyptian galleries of the British Museum is of itself a valuable contribution both to general education and to a just appreciation of the Biblical narratives."

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"During recent years the researches of travellers in Egypt, Ancient Babylon, and Nineveh have served to throw a flood of new light on the historical books of the Old Testament. It has been the task of Dr. Kinns to collect, sort, and arrange these recent discoveries, and, in the handsome volume before us, present them to the public in a popular manner. Those who open these pages expecting a dull and dry discussion on Scripture antiquities will be most agreeably disappointed. . . . Truly this is a noble book, a labour of love, and the product of years of careful research and deep learning. We wish infidels of every class could read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest its powerful pages. And to this we would add that it is a volume which every minister of the Gospel should consider absolutely essential in his library. No intelligent preacher, who wishes to keep up with the times, can afford to be without it. We believe that it will also receive a warm welcome from Jewish scholars, even though they cannot see their way to accept the Christian teaching of its gifted author. The fact that in the list of subscribers to 'Graven in the Rock' may be seen the names of many of the most eminent divines and scientific men of the day is a proof of the confidence of the Church and the world in Dr. Kinns' ability and learning."

From "THE CHRISTIAN," May 28, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock,' by Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., . . . presents a large amount of valuable information in order to demonstrate the absolute reliability of Holy Writ, combining much that has never before been published with the cream of standard works on modern Oriental discovery. At the outset Dr. Kinns tells the fascinating story of early attempts to decipher the

cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions, and of the gratifying measure of success now attained. He then deals with legendary allusions to some of the earliest subjects of Bible History, and presents many eminently readable chapters on patriarchal and Israelitish times, the side-lights from the monuments being lucidly put forward, for the most part on the express authority of well-known specialists. There are 171 engravings, many of them original, and there is a concluding chapter in which, as an earnest ambassador for Christ, the author briefly sets forth the Gospel, and shows on how firm a foundation rests the Christian faith. . . . It is impossible to study its pages without a growing interest in the Bible, and a deepening conviction that it is in very truth the Word of the living God."

From "THE SPEAKER," May 9, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock' is the title which Dr. Kinns, the author of that well-known book 'Moses and Geology,' gives to his latest work—a handsome and beautifully illustrated volume of seven hundred pages. The book is the outcome of patient and wide inquiry, and it deals specially with the confirmation given to the historical accuracy of the Old Testament by the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments in the British Museum and elsewhere. Dr. Kinns is a London clergyman who long ago won recognition as a singularly well-equipped scholar of Biblical archæology. During the last two years Dr. Kinns has spent five or six hours daily in the galleries and library of the British Museum, deciphering the priceless antiquities there collected, and the result of this laborious research is a work of permanent value, and one which, so far as we are aware, is without a rival as an introduction to the testimony of the tablets and stones in our great national institution. . . . Dr. Kinns writes with great clearness, and he is to be congratulated on the undeniable success which marks this attempt to render plain and intelligible, in all their significance, the most recent discoveries in the difficult but fascinating field of Biblical archæology."

From "THE GRAPHIC," August 1, 1891.

"EASTERN RESEARCH.—The Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., Vicar of Holy Trinity, writes a valuable book which should help to popularise our knowledge of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments in the British Museum and elsewhere. It is entitled 'Graven in the Rock' (Cassell). We see no reason why the volume should not be as popular as the author's 'Moses and Geology,' especially as it champions fairly, lucidly, and in agreeable style the cause of the historical accuracy of the Bible. Dr. Kinns has devoted much time and conscientious labour to his task, and has enjoyed the advantage of the advice and assistance of the most competent Oriental scholars. There are no less than one hundred and seventy-one engravings in illustration of the text, which are all of a very high class of excellence. How finely some of them are executed may be judged from the fact that the author recommends the use of a magnifying glass to bring out their details. The average Bible-reader should find 'Graven in the Rock' very helpful to his studies."

From "THE QUEEN," October 3, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock,' by the Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D. . . . supplies much interesting information, which is clearly the result of extended research. It consists of eighteen chapters, the first of which is introductory. The others cover the whole period of sacred history, from the earlier portions of Genesis to the death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. The publishers have done their part remarkably well, so that externally, as well as internally, we only see what we approve. Paper, printing, illustrations, and covers all have their share of our praise. Dr. Kinns himself has expended a large amount of labour upon his task, and, not content with references to the literature of his subject, has carefully studied the ancient relics to which he has had access. . . . Our author does not come as an explorer so much as a student and commentator, and in these capacities he has collected many facts which he has compared with Bible records, showing how those written records are explained and confirmed by recent research. His work is one of the greatest interest and value."

From "THE COURT JOURNAL," April 25, 1891.

"Dr. Kinns' new work, 'Graven in the Rock,' is a worthy successor of his 'Moses and Geology,' in which he sought to prove the truth of Biblical records

by material facts that were indisputable, and thus confound the sceptical. . . . 'Give us ocular proof,' is the demand of the people of the present day; they must and will thrust their hand into the side ere they will admit that they are convinced. The Bible they will not accept unchallenged, therefore our author places their hands on the graven stone, or rather, reads from it words that are independent records of the truth of the Bible, though the object of those who cut them in the stone was certainly merely to leave an historic record, quite independent of any connection with, or influence upon, religion either of that age or of future ages." . . . Our eyes are opened, our understandings are enlarged, and our hearts are thankful that, in this age of much willing disbelief, we have given us proofs that the Bible is truthful in all it asserts. . . . The large list of subscribers to this book is a very important matter, showing as it does, not only the faith placed in the author by learned divines, but by hard-headed men of the world and eminent lights of the law, who are difficult, indeed, unwilling, to be convinced, and always especially careful not to allow their names to be recorded as the supporters of anything whereof there can be any, even the smallest, measure of doubt."

From "THE COURT CIRCULAR," May 23, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock,' by the Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D. This is an able and monumental work which is written to prove the historical accuracy of the Bible, and show how it is confirmed by the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments in the British Museum and elsewhere. Dr. Kinns is evidently well equipped for his labour of love, being a most competent scholar and a close reasoner, and page after page of his volume certainly attests with wonderful force the accuracy of Holy Writ. Particularly able is the eleventh chapter, in which the author deals with Mr. Greg's 'Creed of Christendom,' and demolishes that writer's attempts to show the fallacies in the Biblical story. . . . The volume is rendered attractive as well as valuable by the large number of admirably executed illustrations. We have portraits of M. Champollion, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Sir A. H. Layard, while there are innumerable drawings of mural inscriptions, obelisks, seals, mummies, statues, and Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities of all kinds. Indeed, the book gives us incidentally a wonderful insight into the home life of those old rulers, the mighty monarchs who live for us in the great works they executed, their graven images and the beautiful hieroglyphic records of their feasts, their triumphs, and their cruelties. It is not too much to say, indeed, that the Bible cannot be thoroughly understood without this book by Dr. Kinns, and it ought to be in the hands of every teacher."

From "THE CITY PRESS," July 15, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock.' In this work, which is a companion volume to his well-known 'Moses and Geology,' the Rev. Dr. Samuel Kinns, the learned Vicar of Holy Trinity, Minorities, seeks to prove the authenticity of Holy Writ by means of the inscriptions that are to be seen on the various monuments and tablets that have been discovered of late years by those who have explored Egypt and Assyria. . . . The Doctor, who is the possessor of a fascinating style which renders his pages eminently readable, first of all sketches, briefly, but none the less effectively, the various discoveries that have been made during the past century by those bold explorers who, like Sir Henry Rawlinson, have devoted the best years of their life to the exploration of the lands wherein the great majority of the events recorded in the Old Testament took place. . . . Throughout, the volume, like its predecessor, affords evidence of close research and of untiring devotion and perseverance. With this book in one's hand, there is no difficulty, indeed, in returning in imagination to the days of old when the Assyrians and Egyptians were the rulers of the world, and when incidents with which all readers of the Bible are familiar took place. The value of the work is, we may add, not a little enhanced by the numerous illustrations it contains."

From a Leader in "THE WESTERN MORNING NEWS," July 3, 1891.

"We heartily commend for careful perusal a very valuable book, entitled 'Graven in the Rock,' by Dr. Kinns, which is likely to make itself felt, not only as a literary work of no ordinary merit, but as affording instruction of no mean order at a time when scepticism and infidelity are asserting themselves somewhat loudly. We look upon the work as a most timely production, and as calculated to materially assist the open mind in the formation of a healthy

and decided conviction in regard to the subject it treats so ably. Scepticism can scarcely live in the clear and decided testimony furnished by these Assyrian and Egyptian monuments in favour of the accuracy of the historical portions of the Scriptures, ranging from the Creation to the Birth of Christ."

From "THE DUBLIN DAILY EXPRESS," June 30, 1891.

"'Graven in the Rock.' By the Rev. Samuel Kinns, Ph.D. We are glad to renew our acquaintance with the learned author of this work before us, as in him we recognise one of those earnest and thoughtful labourers who have spent years of study in vindicating the historical accuracy of the Bible against the assaults of scepticism so prevalent in our day. . . . In pursuance of his object the writer avails himself of the aid afforded by a full investigation of all those monuments of Assyria and Egypt which at the present time have so largely engaged archaeologists and are now throwing a flood of light upon the historical portions of the Holy Scriptures. . . . The biographies are, some of them, extremely interesting, embracing brief allusions to all the Oriental philologists who have done so much for the decipherment of Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions, from Pietro della Valle in the seventeenth century to the illustrious and most learned scholar of our own day, of whom England may well be proud—Sir Henry Rawlinson. A somewhat detailed biography of this great archaeologist is given by Dr. Kinns, . . . and above all his last and most marvellous achievement, his perilous ascent of the Behistun Rock. . . . We have been so captivated by the account of this most sensational exploit, which seems more like a tale of fiction than the record of a reality . . . Let us close our too brief examination of this most learned and delightful work with some words of the author, in which we heartily concur: 'At every step I have found the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments confirm beyond all question the historical accuracy of the Holy Scriptures.'"

From "THE DUNDEE ADVERTISER," April 30, 1891.

"Dr. Samuel Kinns is a conspicuous member of that heroic band who seek to reconcile Scripture with the discoveries of modern science, but he differs in many respects from his fellow-workers. To him Science is more than a mere bugbear to be abused as naturally antagonistic to theology. He is himself a naturalist of no mean rank, and his studies in Egyptology have especially fitted him for the task he has undertaken. Nine years ago he published his first work 'Moses and Geology,' and he has followed up his investigations by a more elaborate book devoted to the elucidation and confirmation of the sacred records by means of the monuments and inscriptions that have been discovered and transcribed during the present century in Egypt and Assyria. . . . Even the critics who do not agree with his deductions will find his work of immense value, and on every page there is evidence of unwearied research and tireless industry that alone should entitle him to respect. The subject is a fascinating one, no matter from what side it is approached; and in the hands of so profound a student and so complete a master of an intelligible style it becomes more than ordinarily attractive."

From "THE KING'S OWN MONTHLY MAGAZINE," September, 1891.

" . . . A book of an entirely different character is Dr. Kinns's 'Graven in the Rock' (Cassell & Co.). This has something to defend, and ability to do it. It is a splendid and timely contribution to the literature which will eventually sweep away the (un)historical criticism of the time. Every lover of the Bible should secure a copy. Its account of the testimony of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments is quite up to date, and there is indeed no book in our language where so full and accurate an account can be found of many of the important points which are dealt with."

From the late Very Rev. R. PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury, &c. &c.

"DEANERY, CANTERBURY,

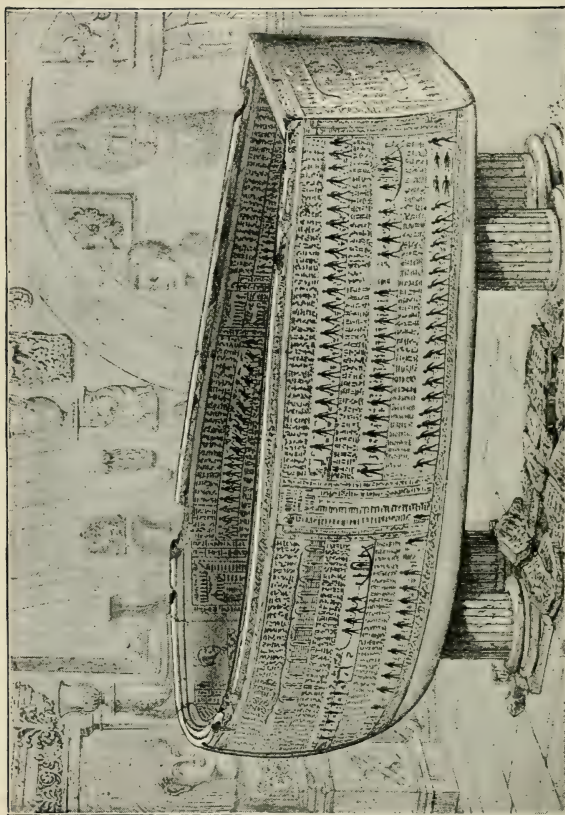
"Aug. 11, 1891.

"MY DEAR DR. KINNS,

"I have seen splendid testimony borne to the accuracy of your Work by those best qualified to judge. I fully agree in this judgment, and heartily congratulate you on the success of your book. It deserved success from the great pains you had taken with it, and the vast labours so cheerfully endured.

"Yours very truly,

"R. PAYNE SMITH."



ALABASTER SARCOPHAGUS OF SETI I, WHOSE DAUGHTER TOOK MOSES OUT OF THE BULRUSHES.
(From "Graven in the Rock.")

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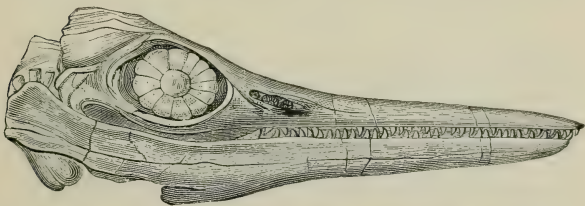


Fig. 66.—Showing the Eye and Jaws of *Ichthyosaurus platydon*.

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS:

From the "COURT JOURNAL," June 12th, 1886.

"The Queen and Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice have sent their thanks to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Kinns for copies of the ninth edition of 'Moses and Geology; or, the Harmony of the Bible with Science' (Cassell and Co.). We are pleased to note that this work, which we have so often praised, has got into its ninth thousand, a fact which cannot but be gratifying to the author, when we remember that the book has been in existence only since 1882. There could be no more powerful proof of its acceptability. Evidently it is felt to meet a want, and to meet it admirably. One great merit of its successive editions is that the author is careful to bring the facts contained in it up to date. He not only revises those facts himself, but submits them to the examination of experts, whose testimony to their accuracy must needs be not only pleasing to the writer, but satisfactory to the reader. Lately Dr. Kinns has had a gratifying corroboration of one of his most effective points in the circumstance that the sequence of animal life, as given by Professor Huxley in the *Nineteenth Century* of December, 1885, turns out to be identical with that which Dr. Kinns gave in his first edition, and to which he has adhered throughout."

From "THE TIMES."

"The quaint title of this volume might suggest one of those deep and endless arguments in which you must have thoroughly mastered the first hundred pages before you are qualified to understand the hundred and first.

On the contrary, every page here stands on its own merits, and the book may be opened anywhere, for it is a tour through all creation, in all time and space. . . . There is scarce any matter in the first scientific awakening of this century which Dr. Kinns does not illustrate with picture as well as pen. . . . Though these annals of science may be said to begin early enough, they are 'posted up' to the newest and most startling discoveries. They may be intended to teach young *savants* to think more respectfully of the Bible, but they will be quite as effectual in introducing young bigots, if any there still be, to the earthly paradise of scientific inquiry. . . . This book is a vision of the Divine work. It is nature treated reverentially and exactly. The increasing wonders of the heavens, the revelations of the spectroscope and of chemical analysis, the volcano that breaks out here or there, but is under us everywhere, the successive *flora* and *fauna* of old worlds, our increasing acquaintance with the sun and stars, the most remarkable geological formations of our own island, the garden of Eden still surviving in flowers and perfumes, are successively brought before us with graceful and picturesque effect. Towards the end of the volume there are some chapters that read like the songs of admiration and thankfulness in which the Psalmist recognised the glories of Creation, and accepted their solemn call. . . . This may be called a holiday book, and not likely to be laid down without leaving a new mark on the memory, and on the heart as well."

From "THE MORNING POST."

"Great research, learning, and earnestness of purpose characterise this remarkable work, written unquestionably with the very highest and most important design that can exercise the intellect at a period when theological criticism and scientific discoveries are too frequently antagonistic to faith in revealed religion. . . . The versatile genius of the author, no less than his talent for condensation, are abundantly manifested in the separate chapters devoted to the fifteen chief acts of creation. To illustrate each event of the series by the latest light of the science naturally connected with it, requires a wide field of learning, in which not geology only, but astronomy, botany, zoology, and many other branches of knowledge must be represented. . . . Interesting facts and amusing anecdotes are plentifully intermingled with the drier statements, and the tendency to discursiveness in this respect, of which Dr. Kinns accuses himself, will be considered by many to impart another charm to his work. . . . An excellent index proves of great assistance to the reader, and numerous engravings are introduced throughout an admirably produced book, for which space may and will be found in many libraries."

From "THE GLOBE."

"Dr. Kinns deserves the thanks of the public for undertaking to show that the Bible, instead of being in antagonism to science, harmonises with it in every essential particular. Previous writers have essayed the same pious labour, but the ground taken up by the present author is more comprehensive, and he marshals his facts and arguments with greater perspicuity. The volume is quite a repository of scientific knowledge, brought down to the present date. Dr. Kinns shows complete mastery of his subject in every branch, and as his style is lucid and his method of treatment bright and pleasant, the student will not be in a hurry to put the agreeable volume down when once it is taken up. The illustrations are admirably adapted to elucidate the text, and the publishing firm have done their part to insure for this most meritorious work the favourable reception which it thoroughly deserves."

From "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH."

"'Moses and Geology; or, the Harmony of the Bible with Science' will find ready and eager acceptance with the scientifically orthodox in theology, and will perhaps convince many who have wavered. . . . Dr. Kinns, the author of this interesting and instructive volume, combines in a remarkable

degree an implicit faith in the physical accuracy, as well as moral truth of revelation, with scholastic attainments of a wide and comprehensive scope, and considerable power of graphic and impressive description."

From "THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS."

"Dr. Samuel Kinns's work, 'Moses and Geology,' is written in the narrative style, which will render it interesting to the general reader, and to young persons in particular, by whom it will be probably used as a book of reference, since it is a vast storehouse of instruction in geology, astronomy, chemistry, botany, and natural history. The great Dinotherium of the primeval forests, the Ichthyosaurus of ancient seas, and the microscopic animals and plants, equally find place, and afford absorbing topics for interesting discourses. As a literary production this work possesses considerable merit. The valuable aid to be obtained by pictorial art has not been overlooked, upwards of a hundred well-executed engravings adorning its pages, and materially assisting in the elucidation of the text."

From "THE RECORD."

"A well-printed and beautifully illustrated volume. The whole of this elaborate volume is well worthy of attention, and affords matter for instructive inquiry, tending to confirm our confidence in Moses and the prophets."

From "THE CHRISTIAN."

"This is a splendid volume on a great subject. Too much can hardly be said in its praise, whether viewed in relation to the clear and concise manner in which the arguments are stated, the chaste and beautiful language employed, the laborious research evinced, the vast store of scientific facts collated, or the devoutly reverent and Christian spirit in which the whole work has been undertaken and executed. . . . As a literary production it is of undoubted merit, while the immense store of scientific knowledge that it contains, as well as the graphic manner in which historic incidents relating to the subject are portrayed, all tend to awaken in the reader a profounder admiration of 'the wonderful works of God.'"

From "COLBURN'S UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE."

"This book is likely to make itself felt not only as a literary work of no ordinary merit, but as affording instruction of no mean order at a time when scepticism and infidelity rear their heads with such unblushing effrontery. The style of the writing is so simple, clear, and convincing, that he who runs may read; and the plain, unvarnished manner in which the facts, as recorded in Scripture, and the sequence of creative events brought to light by the research of science, coincide and dovetail with mathematical precision, is, to say the least, sufficiently conclusive to remove the last grain of doubt from any mind not wilfully blinded. The work should be in every school; it is crammed with knowledge of every sort, not piled up in a dry, pedantic manner, but so arranged as to afford instruction even to the most youthful minds, without in any sense being irksome or wearisome. We would especially urge that no ship's library is complete without it."

From "THE ESSEX STANDARD."

"As a work dealing with science, the book is admirably adapted for the study of youth; and as a refutation of the erroneous idea that religion and science do not agree, it stands unrivalled in the history of literature. We are proud to claim Dr. Kinns as a native of Colchester."

From "THE WORCESTER JOURNAL."

"We heartily commend to our readers the study of the above important work by Dr. Kinns, the issue of which has been awaited with great interest. All who have attended his lectures at the Museum in this city, or have visited the College at Highbury New Park, well know how large are his stores of information, and how much profit, as well as pleasure, is derived by those to whom his knowledge is so freely imparted."

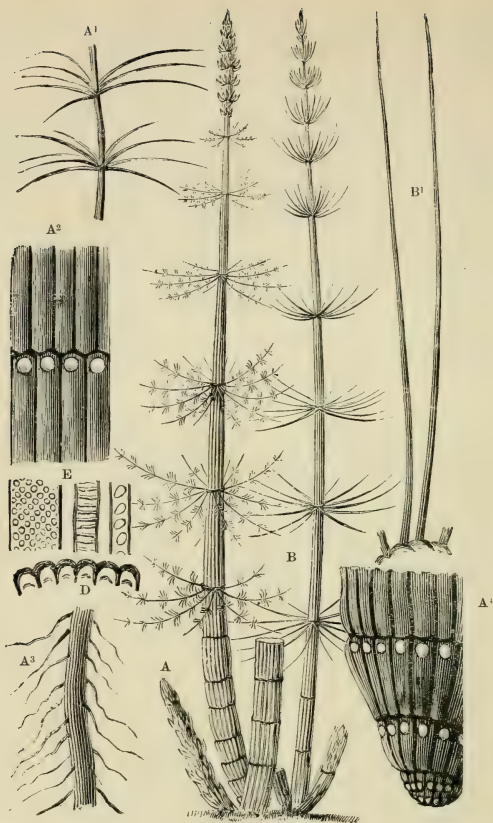



Fig. 31.—CALAMITES.

Some of the graceful plants forming the Coal Measures.

- A. *C. Suckovii*. A¹. Foliage. A². Ribs and Scars. A³. Roots.
 A⁴. Base of Stem. B. *C. Cistii*. B¹. Leaves. D. Structure of Stem.
 E. Vessels Magnified.

Specimen Page from "Moses and Geology."



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